THE RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

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CECIL JOHN RHODES

THE
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BY

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PREFACE

SINCE the death of Cecil Rhodes in 1902 his Trustees have put into operation the Scholarship System provided for under his last Will. As the provisions of the Will applied to a large number of widely separated communities, varying greatly in their educational development, as in other respects, and as the suggestions made by Mr. Rhodes about the choice of his Scholars involved methods of selection hitherto untried, much preparatory study of conditions, involving an immense amount of travel, and much consultation with authorities in each community concerned, became necessary before a system for the administration of the Trust could be decided upon. This work of enquiry was entrusted to me, and the System now in use is largely based upon reports which I made to the Trustees from time to time after consultation with educational and other responsible authorities in all the countries concerned. In these reports I tried to embody the advice I had received, and to outline the difficulties to be dealt with, adding my own conclusions as to the best way in which these difficulties can be overcome.

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The System has now been in operation for some years, and much experience has been gained in its administration. This experience has brought the conviction that to ensure the greatest efficiency, and to achieve the best results from the System, it has become essential to give the widest possible publicity, in some readily accessible form, to all matters of general interest connected with the Trust; its inception, its history, its aims, its problems, the opportunities it offers, and its methods of administration.

The chief reasons for this conclusion are obvious. The Scholarship endowment is made in perpetuity. Centuries hence we may expect it to be in operation, just as other Oxford scholarships rest on endowments centuries old. The methods by which it can be made most effective will only be gradually learned from experience. They will certainly demand change from time to time, as conditions change in the countries from which Scholars are drawn, or in Oxford itself. Thoughtful coöperation among educational men in many parts of the world will therefore be required to maintain the efficiency of the System over long periods of time. The fullest discussion of the ends to be kept in view, of the means used to attain them, and of hindrances to success is therefore imperative. Careful consideration by many

minds of the methods employed by the Trust, of the grounds on which Scholars are selected, of the agencies most efficient for making selection, of the work of the Scholars and the spirit in which they do their work, of Oxford's arrangements for giving effect to the scheme, will all prove necessary and useful in making of this great Trust all that it ought to be.

It seems especially desirable that the many Committees of Selection, to whom the choice of Scholars is entrusted, should have the clearest possible idea of the principles on which choice should be made. These committees now embrace a large proportion of the leading educational men, and others in high official position, in more than seventy countries, states, provinces, and colonies where Scholarships are awarded. As the composition of the committees changes from time to time, each new member should have a ready means of informing himself about the nature of his responsible duties.

The Scholars, again, are drawn from a great many remote communities, where little is known of Oxford, and they will in future be drawn from remote generations, which cannot be expected to know much about Rhodes. It seems necessary to the successful development of the foundation that definite

information about both should be within easy reach of all Candidates and Scholars. To them the course of study which best prepares for entry at Oxford, the opportunities for further study, and the range of teaching provided at the University, the peculiar features of college life, the cost of living, and like questions, cannot but be of deep interest.

Nor does it seem less necessary that every Scholar of succeeding generations should know something of the life of the man whose benefaction he enjoys, and whose purposes he is in part fulfilling when he accepts his Scholarship. Only the briefest outline can here be given of his stirring career, but reference is made to various authorities, from which fuller information can be obtained, and there is added some account of the development in his mind of the principles and purposes which prompted his Bequest.

In pursuing the enquiries necessary to the organization of the Trust, I have at various times met with strongly expressed differences of opinion as to the interpretation which should be put upon some clauses of the Will. As I have tried to bring all such points very fully to the notice of the Trustees, who have given to them prolonged and careful consideration, it seems desirable that the reasons should be made public on which — using the wide latitude of

judgment given to them under the Will — they have based their decisions.

It is in view of these various considerations that I have asked permission of the Trustees to summarize the experience gained in the work of organization, and to prepare such a statement as seems likely to serve a useful purpose in making the Scholarship System known and its management understood.

Any statement about the organization of the scheme would be incomplete which did not include also the experience of my colleague, Mr. F. J. Wylie, to whom was assigned the administration of the Trust in Oxford itself, and who has therefore acted as the intermediary between the elected Scholars, the Colleges, and the University. Chapters VI and VII, dealing with the University System and the social side of Oxford life, have been contributed by him.

It is perhaps unnecessary to remind readers that no present statement can be considered as binding the Trust in regard to such future modifications of the System as may be suggested by further experience or made necessary by changed circumstances.

My hope is that this volume may find its way into the libraries of the secondary schools, colleges, and universities of the communities from which Scholars

are drawn, and there awaken an intelligent interest in the Scholarships and prove a sufficient guide to those who aspire to enjoy the advantages that they offer. I trust that it will also be useful to the Committees of Selection to whom is assigned the delicate, difficult, and highly responsible task of selecting the Rhodes Scholars.

For the form in which the subject is presented, I must assume the entire responsibility.

G. R. P.

LONDON, 1912.

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THE RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDER

CECIL JOHN RHODES, the founder of the Scholarship System which bears his name, and one of the greatest of Britain's builders of Empire, was born in the Vicarage of Bishop's Stortford Parish, in the county of Hertford, England, on July 5, 1853. He was the fifth of the nine sons of the Vicar of the Parish, the Rev. F. W. Rhodes, and of Louisa, his second wife. Together with his brothers he received his early education at the Bishop's Stortford Grammar School, one of those numerous smaller Elizabethan Foundations which have done so much for centuries to keep alive the classical spirit in English education, and to mould English character. Here he pursued his studies until the age of sixteen. It is on record that he gained a classical scholarship and the school medal for elocution, and at the age of thirteen was in the first cricket eleven. Beyond this, little of spe-

cial interest is known of his school life. "He is described," says one of his biographers, "as a slender, delicate-looking, but not delicate, boy, and as possessing a retiring nature, and a high, proud spirit."

On leaving school in 1869 he continued his classical reading for a time at home under the direction of his father, who was a Cambridge man.

It was not long, however, before the decision about his future life was taken, which was to affect profoundly the history of a continent. Of the large family of brothers, four chose a military career and entered the army. The father had hoped that some of his sons would enter the Church. Neither profession had attractions for Cecil, and now it was settled that he should join another brother who had gone to South Africa to take up a farming life, and in Natal was making experiments in the planting of cotton. The decision to emigrate to South Africa, so momentous for himself and for the country to which he went, was apparently much influenced by considerations of health. The English climate was considered too rigorous for a constitution which had begun to show some signs of weakness. He sailed from England towards the end of June, 1870, and after a voyage of seventy days landed at Durban on September 1.

In Natal he had at once to face pioneer life under its crudest and most laborious conditions. His brother had obtained a grant of two hundred acres of land under the Emigration Act of the Colony; Cecil took up fifty more, to be paid for in five years. It was bush land, only to be cleared with immense labour. He had no capital — his allowance from home was small — his brother of a roving and adventurous disposition — Kafir labour was expensive and uncertain — the heat great — cotton planting an experiment which in the end, and after many disappointments, was only partially successful. But he had made his entry into the great school of real life — the school which teaches men to see things as they are — which trains to physical endurance and to patient effort in overcoming difficulties. The warmer climate and the outdoor occupation favoured his constitution, and he became comparatively robust. From his Natal life at this period he also gained insight into the working of the Kafir mind, invaluable afterwards when he had to legislate for Kafir needs — to employ native labour on a great scale in working out his vast industrial schemes — or, carrying his life in his hands, to face and deal with the hostile tribes of the Matabele. Of this brief stage in his career one thing more is to be said.

Neither the hardships of pioneer life nor remoteness from intellectual surroundings displaced from his mind an ideal destined to have far-reaching influence on his own and other lives. With a young neighbouring farmer of like education and ambition he kept up his classical reading, and together they discussed the possibility of earning sufficient means to enter Oxford and work out a course at the University.

But events were taking place which soon gave a new direction to his energy and opened up new opportunities. The first South African diamonds had been found in 1869; by 1871 the rush to the diggings had fairly set in. Rhodes was drawn into the movement; by October of the latter year he had closed up his farming operations, and was on his way to the diggings in an ox-cart, carrying among his small belongings "a bucket and a spade, several volumes of the classics, and a Greek lexicon." Thus equipped he reached in November, 1871, the place where Kimberley now stands, which was to give him the solid foundation of fame and fortune. His earliest letters are dated from the "De Beers New Rush."

He took charge of a claim owned by his brother, who had preceded him in migrating from Natal, secured others of his own, and for the next two years

gave himself up to the rough work of the mining-camp — excavation, the sifting of gravel, the sorting of diamonds, the management of Kafirs, speculation in claims — whatever work of hand or brain came in his way by which money could be made in that hive of industry and fierce competition, which had drawn to itself rivals in the search for wealth from every quarter of the world. His energy soon began to achieve results; within little more than a year we find him making small investments in Natal and elsewhere. With this preliminary prosperity his old dream of gaining an Oxford education re-asserted itself. In 1873, after spending some months in exploration on the veld, during which he became familiar with a characteristic side of South African life, and with Dutch character and habits of thought, he left his affairs at Kimberley in charge of an agent, returned to England, and in October of that year was matriculated at the University, and went into residence as a member of Oriel College, after being refused, on the ground that he did not care to read for honours, by the Fellows of University College, to which he first applied. A few months at the University proved that for him danger still lurked in the English climate; a specialist whom he consulted found both heart and lungs weak, and noted in his

case-book, "not six months to live." He went back to South Africa much disheartened, but another period of veld life, with its bracing air and natural conditions, set him up anew, and he returned to the diamond fields to match his business ability as a speculator and organizer against all comers. He is described at this period by a contemporary, as "a tall, gaunt youth, roughly dressed, coated with dust, sitting moodily on a bucket, deaf to the chatter and rattle about him, his blue eyes fixed intently on his work, or on some fabric of his brain."

The next few years of his life present features probably unique in the annals of biography; part of the time, as health and his means permitted, spent in keeping terms at Oxford — the vacations or longer periods when his funds were low or business anxieties pressing, or the climate of England too severe for his constitution, employed at the other side of the world in the strenuous activities of Kimberley, amid many vicissitudes of success or apparent defeat.

Concerning this stage in his career one point is worthy of note, especially by those who enjoy his benefactions at the University or those who aspire to do so. The idealism which inclined him to value classical study and led him to reverence a great

centre of literary culture seems never to have interfered with the full development of his practical business powers. On the other hand, the life of the University and its teachings touched his imagination and kindled in his mind those conceptions of the uses to which wealth can be applied that almost alone give dignity to its pursuit. "What is the use of having big ideas," he is reported to have said to General Gordon as a justification for striving after wealth on the diamond fields, "unless you have money with which to carry them out?" The proof seems abundant that it was during the period when he was pursuing this dual life, with aims to all appearance so widely divergent, that the "big ideas" about South Africa, the Empire, and mankind which later dominated his thought began to take form in his mind.

A fellow of Oriel reports a fragment of Common Room conversation, illuminating on this point, from one of the later visits that Rhodes made to the College. "I fear that I did not work at Oxford as much, or get as much good out of the University, as I should have done. But I did read some Greek, and especially some Aristotle, and one sentence of his has influenced me more than almost anything else. It is one in which he says that the greatest happiness

in life is to be derived from the conscious pursuit of a great purpose." If all Oxford students could read into their Aristotle such meaning, and draw from it such inspiration, there would be less complaint than is now often heard of Oxford's modest demand for Greek. It is not improbable that the youth full of high aspirations and destined for large affairs found in the words of the philosopher meanings which suited his own attitude of mind towards the business of life. But it is interesting to find over what spaces of time and place the spark of inspiration passes: to find South Africa and the nineteenth century linked with Athens and the fourth century before Christ.

It was after his first terms at the University, when back again upon the veld, that he outlined in crude but striking form those plans for the consolidation of the British Empire, the unification of the Anglo-Saxon race, and for the peace of the world which in later years took more practical shape. The document in which he did this remains in his own handwriting to illustrate the audacity of conception and continuity of purpose which from the very first marked his career.

Not until December, 1881, eight years from the time when he entered Oxford, did he finally secure

the degree upon which he had set his heart. But by that time his fortunes were more secure and a new sphere of action had opened up for him. The annexation to the Cape Colony in 1880 of the mining territory around Kimberley had led to the creation of two new electoral districts, and for one of these, Barkly West, Rhodes stood as a candidate in the election which immediately took place for the Cape Legislature. The fact that he won the seat at this first attempt shows how strong was the position the young miner had already gained for himself among his contemporaries; the further fact that, amid all the fluctuations of his fortunes, he continued to hold this constituency, which was mainly Dutch, to the day of his death, twenty-two years later, indicates the strength of the personal influence he exercised over men's minds. It was, then, upon an embryo colonial statesman as well as a successful diamond digger that Oxford conferred its degree in 1881.

The period when Rhodes entered the Cape Legislature was an anxious one for South Africa. Already the clouds were gathering which twenty years later were to burst in a tempest of war. The Government of Cape Colony was engaged in a struggle with the powerful Basuto tribe; the Imperial Government had entered upon a more serious conflict

with the Dutch of the Transvaal, which had been annexed in 1877, but now again sought to assert its independence. Some slight reverses to British arms, crowned in 1881 by the serious disaster of Majuba Hill, made such an impression on the mind of Mr. Gladstone, newly returned to power in England, that the armistice at first agreed to ended in a retrocession of independence to the Transvaal, coupled, however, with the reservation of suzerain rights for Britain. This action of the Imperial Government, by some counted as magnanimity, by others as contemptible weakness, is one of the debated points of history upon which final and definite agreement of opinion is probably impossible. Whatever the interpretation put upon it, events have since proved that this settlement left differences which, further developed by new circumstances, could only be settled by the sword.

From the very beginning of his parliamentary career in Cape Colony, the mind of Rhodes was dominated by two leading ideas. Both were the result of intense and genuine convictions in regard to what was good for South Africa. In the light of all that has happened in later years opinion will probably be agreed that in both of these main ideas he was right, even though some of the methods by

which he strove to give them effect are open to criticism.

The first of these dominating ideas was the extension of British influence over the vast uncivilized areas of Africa stretching northwards towards the equator. He believed that in bringing their barbarous populations under the reign of law, and in developing the great natural resources of these regions, he would be serving the higher interests of humanity as well as opening up new fields for British enterprise and settlement. Chiefly through his initiative and under the influence of his compelling purpose, this dream has in large measure been realised.

The second of these ideas was the unification of the various colonies of South Africa, with the two European races that controlled them, into one political system under the British flag. In ways unthought of by him, but on the whole in accord with his views, that ideal also has now been attained.

But behind these purposes, which mainly affected South Africa, were conceptions larger still, of which they were but a part. While still a young man, fresh from the University, his reflections had convinced him that the closer consolidation of the British Empire into an organic whole was an object of supreme

political importance for his own nation and for the world. The dream that floated before his vision, as it floats before the wisest and best of British people everywhere, is of an empire recognizing its enormous mission and responsibilities in the world — with wisdom and trained ability adequate to governing rightly and justly the hundreds of millions of weaker races dependent upon it — with strength sufficient to maintain its position and protect its people in every part of the world.

The Imperial idea, as it is understood by Englishmen, was the point from which Rhodes started. He believed in the British Empire and in its efficiency for good. He was convinced that its maintenance was among the supreme interests of mankind. He wished to see its various parts drawn more closely together, not as an agency of aggression, but in the interests of peace, industry, and civilization. For the attainment of this end he looked only to the free force of free men trained up in the largest atmosphere of liberty. Nor did he in this connection think of his own race alone. He wished the full advantages of citizenship in the Empire and a full share in its work to be extended to civilized men of any race who came within its bounds and accepted its ideals of free government. At a later stage his

thought advanced much further, and aimed at drawing the people of the United States and the kindred German race into a common circle of sympathy and mutual understanding for the same great end.

It will be conceded that dreams like these indicate the workings of a large mind. Of their absolute sincerity there can be no reasonable doubt, and I mention them here because an understanding of this side of his nature furnishes the only true key to the career of Rhodes, and establishes at least its consistency. Through every stage of his life his work was inspired by the vast vision which he first outlined in writing when alone on the African veld, a poor and comparatively friendless youth, but already inflamed with ambitions for his country, his race, and mankind that come with such living and inspiring force to but few men, and to fewer still who have the strength of will resolutely to pursue them through good and evil report, through mistakes and failures, to the end.

That schemes of a world-wide policy were at work in the mind of the young diamond digger and Oxford undergraduate who in 1881 took his seat in the Cape Legislature, would probably have come as a surprise to the colonial politicians with whom he now became associated.

Meanwhile his practical mind turned to the questions immediately around him, and from this time forward he was to devote the greater part of his short working life to wrestling with the problems — industrial, financial, political, and racial — of the Dark Continent.

From the first he was called upon to take a part in dealing with those native questions which must always confront the South African statesman. Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Charles Gordon, already famous for his exploits in China — later to crown his career by his work in the Soudan and by his heroic death at Khartoum — had been asked by the Cape Government to arrange terms of peaceful settlement with the Basutos, a numerous native race with which the Colony had been drawn into an unfortunate struggle. He recommended, among other things, that compensation should be paid to those natives who had remained loyal throughout the contest, and Rhodes was named as one of the Commission appointed by the Cape Government to determine the awards. This chance intersection of the lives of two men, each destined to stamp his name on the history of Africa and the Empire, had its influence on both. Gordon was so much impressed by what he saw of Rhodes

that he asked him to stay and share his work of pacifying and controlling the Basutos. This was in spite of strong and freely expressed differences of opinion. "There are few men in the world," Gordon had said, "to whom I would make such an offer. . . . I never met a man so strong for his own opinion; you think you are always right." A still greater mark of his esteem and confidence Gordon gave two years later, when, on the eve of his fateful departure for the Soudan, he telegraphed to Rhodes to come and join him in his attempt to overthrow the tyranny of the Mahdi. "I am sorry I was not with him," was the repeated exclamation of Rhodes when he heard of Gordon's tragic death. The mutual regard of men whose minds were cast in such different moulds is noteworthy.

They had discussed their views of life. Both were idealists. Gordon was what is ordinarily called an unpractical man; he despised money, and for the means to accomplish noble aims looked as few have done to spiritual help and strength alone. Rhodes, dreamer and at the same time ambitious man of the world, fond of power, and confident about the use he intended to make of it, had declared that he meant to stay in South Africa and make money. So each went his way — the one without the use of

wealth to leave many aims unachieved, but a name as unsullied, heroic, and inspiring as any to be found in England's long roll of fame; the other, by use of wealth, not always without blame, to achieve great ends, and finally to consecrate all that he left to the service of his fellow men.

In dealing with the large designs he entertained for South Africa and through it for the Empire, Rhodes was confronted by three distinct obstacles: the indifference and variable policy of the Home Government; the active opposition and conflicting ambitions of the neighbouring Transvaal Republic, bent, under the guidance of its able and determined leader, Paul Kruger, on establishing Dutch supremacy throughout the country; and lastly, the hesitation of the Cape politicians to incur responsibility for any extension of territory, or to give offence to their Dutch friends in the Republic.

In addition to all this the development of his ideas involved dealing with some millions of uncivilized natives who were to be drawn within the circle of British law and under civilized control. Few men in public life have been called upon to deal with conditions so complicated or to work forward to their ends through such a tangle of conflicting interests.

The question of Basutoland had scarcely been

settled by recognition of native independence with friendly Imperial control, which Rhodes had advocated, — a policy since worked out with remarkable success, — when the further question of the control of Bechuanaland became critical. On the solution found for this depended the far greater question of expansion northward, upon which Rhodes had fixed his mind, as this region lay on the direct line of approach to Central Africa. Unauthorized settlers from the Transvaal had occupied portions of the country, were quarrelling with the natives, and had planned the establishment of two small republics. The native chiefs objected to this, preferring a British Protectorate, as did many white settlers. Sent by the Cape Government to study the merits of the question and to fix boundaries, Rhodes spent months during 1883 first in securing concessions from the native chiefs, and then in trying to induce the Cape and Imperial Governments to assume control of the whole country. But he could not at the moment overcome the hesitation of either. The Dutch members of the Cape Legislature sympathized with the freebooters from the Transvaal; the Imperial Government dreaded increased responsibilities. Against these obstacles Rhodes for some time laboured in vain.

The motives which actuated him were clearly stated in a speech made in the Cape Legislature after his return: —

> I feel [he said] that the House has not yet risen to the supreme importance of this question. . . . You are dealing with a question on the treatment of which depends the whole future of this Colony. I look upon this Bechuanaland territory as the Suez Canal of the trade of this country, the key of its road to the interior. . . . I solemnly warn the House that if it fails to secure control of the interior, we shall fall from our position as the paramount State, which is our right in any future scheme of Federal Union.

The hesitancy of the British Government, the indifference of the Cape Parliament, tried sorely his eager spirit. But though foiled for the moment, he was gathering power. It was at this time that a keen observer, Baron von Hübner, then at Cape Town in the course of a tour through the Empire, wrote his impression of the youthful politician: —

> The path which he has taken, and means to take, marks him out to me as one of those many links, almost invisible to the naked eye, but which collectively form a bond strong enough to bind the Colonies firmly to the Mother Country, and the Mother Country to the Colonies.

During these years, between 1884 and 1888, while attending to his parliamentary duties and

carrying on the work and negotiations with which he had been entrusted in Basutoland and Bechuanaland, Rhodes was engaged in a prolonged effort in which all his fortunes were at stake, to master the difficulties of the mining situation at Kimberley. It was generally agreed that only a consolidation of smaller claims could save the diamond interest and place it upon a secure basis. The De Beers Mining Company, with Rhodes at its head, had but one powerful rival in the corporation of the Kimberley Mine, controlled by Barnato. After a keen struggle for supremacy, the dramatic history of which has been fully written, but must not detain us here, the business genius and courage of Rhodes prevailed and the amalgamation of the various companies into "The De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited" fixed on a sound working basis this great Cape industry, and established the fortunes of Rhodes himself (who became Chairman of the Company) and of his partners.

But the consolidation of the various diamond interests meant much more for Rhodes and for Africa than the formation of a great and successful mining company. In the face of determined opposition from some of the principal partners Rhodes insisted that the trust deed should give the Company

power to undertake enterprises of the most far-reaching kind. "Nor," says Sir Lewis Michell, "have the wide powers been a dead letter. The Company has built railways, tram-lines and roads, established immense dynamite works, electric and other factories, model villages, cattle ranches, fruit farms, and in a hundred ways availed itself of the latitude given to it in its trust deed." It covered the whole range of South African development. Among other things, the Company was empowered to acquire tracts of country, with any rights that might be granted by their rulers, and expend thereon any sums deemed requisite for the maintenance and good government thereof.

All this meant that Rhodes kept a steady eye on expansion northward, and was making the diamond industry subsidiary to far-reaching political aims. So it was understood by those upon whom he forced his views. "You have a fancy for building an Empire in the north, and I suppose you must have your way," was Barnato's remark in finally yielding to his determined colleague. "Rhodes was a strange man," another of the partners — Alfred Beit — once remarked to me. "The rest of us were there to make money, and for nothing else; he was thinking of the British Empire. So he got inserted clauses

which made it possible to employ the resources and the credit of De Beers to extend the boundaries of the empire to the heart of Africa." It may be noted that in the end Alfred Beit left two or three millions of his wealth to confirm and consolidate the Imperial ideas of his friend and partner.

The history of these next years is the history of a conflict between two iron wills inspired by opposing ideals. That which Rhodes had ever before his mind was a South Africa united under the British flag — its two white races, English and Dutch, working together to develop the country — to push British occupation and civilization northwards along the great plateau leading to Central Africa — to control on some common and broad lines of policy leading to civilization the millions of natives who would thus be withdrawn from uncontrolled savagery and brought within the circle of British law and ordered government. What English and French had done for Canada, he would have English and Dutch do for South Africa; build up one of a sisterhood of nations under a common flag and acknowledging a common allegiance. Towards the accomplishment of this large aim he proposed to apply his own wealth and the influence of the great company he had built up.

Working on narrower lines, but inspired by a passion of racial patriotism equally intense, Paul Kruger's mind had conceived the widely different idea of a South Africa dominantly Dutch. As a youth he had trekked away from the range of British influence at the Cape; had seen his people in the Transvaal win a place for themselves with pain and difficulty on the arid veld; had conceived the idea of annexing the country east and west from ocean to ocean, and by so doing getting control also of the lines of northern expansion.

He had encouraged the raiders from the Transvaal who attempted to get a footing in Bechuanaland, and finally published an official proclamation annexing to the Transvaal, "in the interests of humanity," a considerable part of the disputed territory. This was plainly in defiance of the lately concluded Convention of London, and the Imperial Government was at once stirred to action. A military expedition under Sir Charles Warren was despatched to the North; President Kruger recognized the impossibility of persisting in his course, and Rhodes, who had accompanied the expedition in a civil capacity at the request of the High Commissioner and Sir Charles Warren, had at last the satisfaction of seeing the southern part of the disputed territory organized

under Imperial control as British Bechuanaland, the northern portion declared a British Protectorate, and the route to the north in this way saved. At the same time he firmly maintained the right of Dutch settlers to equality of treatment. He had differed seriously on this point with the military commander in regard to the terms of settlement. The defence of his position in the Cape Assembly well illustrates his attitude of mind on the most fundamental question in South African affairs. In the course of his speech he said: —

I think all would recognise that I am an Englishman, and one of my strongest feelings is loyalty to my own country. If the report of such a condition in the settlement by Sir Charles Warren is correct, that no man of Dutch descent is to have a farm, it would be better for the English colonists to retire. I remember, when a youngster, reading in my English history that the supremacy of my country was due to its adherence to two cardinal axioms: that the word of the nation, when once pledged, was never broken, and that when a man accepted the citizenship of the British Empire, there was no distinction between races. It has been my misfortune in one year to meet with the breach of one and the proposed breach of the other. The result will be that when the troops are gone, we shall have to deal with sullen feeling, discontent, and hostility. The proposed settlement of Bechuanaland is based on the exclusion of colonists of Dutch descent. I raise my voice

in most solemn protest against such a course, and it is the duty of every Englishman in the House to record his protest against it. In conclusion, I wish to say that the breach of solemn pledges and the introduction of race distinctions must result in bringing calamity on this country, and if such a policy is pursued it will endanger the whole of our social relationship with colonists of Dutch descent, and endanger the supremacy of Her Majesty in this country.

It may be said with some confidence that had the same principle of equal rights for all citizens prevailed in the mind of President Kruger, South African history would have taken a widely different course from what it did in the succeeding years.

The expedition of Sir Charles Warren gave final effect to the strenuous and prolonged efforts which Rhodes had made to secure the route to the north. The pathway was now open to him, and he at once turned to the great task of northern expansion on which his imagination had been so long bent. It was a complicated and difficult undertaking which made equal demands on his courage, his diplomatic skill, and his business ability. To accomplish his ends financial support on a large scale was a first necessity. The approval of the Imperial Government, slow to accept new responsibilities, was required for each step taken. The country on which

his thought was fixed, a vast hinterland till quite lately thought unworthy of attention by the European Powers that had vied with each other in getting control of the coast regions of Africa, was held by native tribes dominated at the time by a chief or king of the Zulu race who maintained his authority with relentless cruelty. For centuries the home of savagery, the condition of this vast region had been for some years especially deplorable. The *impis* of Lo Bengula, the Matabele ruler, were sent out at regular intervals to strike terror by general massacre among the surrounding weaker tribes. The early settlers of Bulawayo found portions of the neighbouring veld strewn with the skeletons of those whom he had ordered to execution in the ordinary administration of his government. It was but an illustration of what was taking place in many parts of the country.

The first necessary step was to secure the right of entry into the country from the Matabele king. Other people had suddenly awakened to the importance of the region. Germans, Portuguese, and agents of President Kruger were trying to gain concessions of various kinds. Partly to escape their importunities Lo Bengula agreed to an arrangement suggested by Rhodes by which he pledged himself

"not to enter into any correspondence or treaty with any foreign power, and not to sell or alienate any part of his territory, without the sanction of the High Commissioner."

This was an important move, even though the result was mainly negative, since it secured a certain degree of Imperial recognition and support. It was quickly followed by another. Commissioners, furnished with the necessary means by a syndicate of which Rhodes was the moving spirit, went into the country in 1888, and succeeded after much negotiation in making a bargain with the king by which, with the consent of his principal chiefs, he assigned to the grantees in return for a considerable monthly subsidy, and other considerations, the exclusive right to all minerals found within his dominions, "with full power to do all things that they may deem necessary to win and procure the same."

Similar arrangements were made with neighbouring tribes, and grants made to other parties were acquired by purchase. Armed with these concessions, and with others in prospect, Rhodes proceeded to England, bent on securing the moral support of the Imperial Government, which was essential to the attainment of the objects he had in view, even though its direct assistance could not be expected.

He applied, therefore, to the Crown for one of those royal charters which have proved so useful in enabling private capital and enterprise, in the absence of government initiative, to be directed to the building-up of the British Empire. In making the application he outlined his plans for the development and government of the country, and undertook to extend railways and telegraphs to the Zambesi.

After long and critical consideration the charter was granted and in October, 1889, the British South Africa Company was legally constituted with power to develop the concessions it had obtained, and, subject to the approval of the Imperial authorities, to administer the government of the territories to which the charter extended, and over which the Company should secure control.

Among the objects enumerated in the charter as reasons for which it is granted are: the promotion of civilization and good government; the regulation of liquor traffic with the natives, and the improvement of their condition; the suppression of the slave trade, and the opening-up of the country to the immigration of Europeans and to the trade and commerce of British subjects and of other nations.

A long and difficult path had yet to be travelled before the plans he had in view were fully realized; but it is worth while to pause here and reflect upon the magnitude of the enterprise to which Rhodes had set his hand, and which he lived to see far on the road to achievement.

The area of the vast territory which by his foresight, energy, and persistence he was thus to redeem from barbarism and bring under the reign of law within the British Empire embraces more than seven hundred and fifty thousand square miles, about equal to one quarter of the United States, or almost as much as the united areas of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, and Spain.

The part south of the Zambesi has been proved to be emphatically a white man's country, capable of European settlement, rich in mineral resources, and with great agricultural and pastoral possibilities. The northern half presents a great field for civilized administration. In much of this vast region industrial progress has now taken the place of tribal wars. Villages, towns, and cities occupy ancient abodes of cruelty. Just laws protect the natives, while the white man's energy furnishes them with employment. Moreover, the country has become a base from which the problems of

Central Africa can be approached and its resources developed. Towards the realization of what was thought the most extravagant of all the dreams of Rhodes, the Cape-to-Cairo route, the railway line to the northward, which aims at connection with the Mediterranean, has already advanced many hundreds of miles beyond the Zambesi and nearly twenty-five hundred miles from the Cape. This much by way of anticipation.

But Rhodes was to learn the lesson constantly repeated in history that savagery does not make way for civilization without a struggle. The formation of the British South Africa Company and the possession of a royal charter were but preliminary steps. The business of occupation had now to be faced, and to carry out this difficult task new agencies had to be called in. Fortunately Rhodes had the power of inspiring in other men belief in his large conceptions, and the most devoted loyalty in carrying out the tasks to which he sent them. He had drawn around him a group of friends without whose co-operation all authorities agree that the occupation could not have been accomplished. Of the weary journeys undertaken by these men, of the prolonged negotiations they carried on, of the risks they ran, of their skilful management of Lo Bengula, of the

grudging permission at last obtained that a force should be allowed to move into Mashonaland, provided it avoided the Matabele country, of the perilous march through unknown country which followed, much has been written which reads like the most vivid tales of romance. It is enough to say here that, after months of anxious negotiation and careful preparation, a small body of men, scarcely a thousand in all, made up of pioneers, mounted police, prospective settlers and camp-followers, with F. C. Selous, the African hunter, as their guide, and Colonel Pennefather as military commander, worked their way for some hundreds of miles through pathless forests and over difficult veld, in constant danger of attack, around the confines of the Matabele country, and finally reached the spot in Mashonaland where Salisbury, the capital town of Rhodesia, now stands, and there, on September 11, 1890, planted the British flag and established themselves. No more audacious feat of adventure has been accomplished in modern times and few have proved so pregnant with results. The High Commissioner indicated its true significance when, in a letter to Rhodes a few days later, he congratulated him upon "the success thus far of the great work you have inaugurated for the development of and

extension of civilization into the heart of South Africa."

Once their goal was reached, the military organization of the pioneers was broken up; they began to mark out homesteads or prospect for gold, ancient workings of which were found on all sides; the Mashonas, a peaceable people, gladly entered into their employ, and the machinery of civilized life soon began to get in motion.

While these stirring scenes were being enacted in the north, and while Rhodes was still anxiously waiting day by day for the reports of progress made by his column of occupation, a turn in political affairs at the Cape had laid upon him a new burden of responsibility. Ten years of active parliamentary life had left him the most prominent figure in the Cape Assembly, and when in 1890 the Ministry of the day was overthrown, he was called upon by the Governor to form an administration. He undertook the task with some misgiving, for the pressure of other cares had already almost decided him to withdraw from politics. His position was now exceedingly anomalous; at once Prime Minister of a self-governing Colony; Chairman of the great De Beers Company; and Director in South Africa of the Chartered Company which was employed on its vast task of exploitation.

Each was a post that might well task the powers of a strong man; in combination they furnished a sufficient field for administrative genius. On one point his position was open to grave question. Was the direction of such vast interests on the Continent, including the administration of a chartered company, compatible with the position of responsible adviser to the Crown in the management of public affairs? Parliamentary criticism concentrated itself upon this doubt. Rhodes admitted its reasonableness, and said that he would resign the Premiership if he found that his private and public duties clashed. He had reason afterwards to remember this undertaking. Meanwhile his manifest determination to apply the threefold forces at his disposal, the wealth of De Beers, the influence of the Chartered Company, and his political position, for the general good of South Africa appealed to the popular imagination and so made his anomalous position tenable.

I have no intention to trace here in detail the work done by Rhodes as Prime Minister of Cape Colony, save in its bearing upon his general purpose. It was a provincial sphere: the outlook of most of those with whom he had to deal was provincial. But it is an old truth that great citizens give im-

portance to even a small State, and for him this apparently narrow field of effort was dignified by the vast background of continental and world policy which was ever in his thought. What this background was has already been mentioned. A more or less complete union of all South Africa, the occupation and development of unappropriated country to the north, a common policy for all the States in dealing with the immense and difficult native problem, the maintenance of Imperial connection—for all these great ends, Cape Colony, with its unrivalled strategic position in the Empire and its large and loyal English population, was a necessary base, and he valued accordingly the direction of its affairs. But English support alone was not sufficient for his purpose. To secure his political position in the Colony he therefore established a working alliance with Jan Hofmeyr, leader of the Dutch party at the Cape, and next to Rhodes himself the man who had the largest outlook in South African politics. In doing this he exposed himself to much British criticism. Hofmeyr was as keen to maintain Dutch interests in South Africa as Paul Kruger himself, but on more reasonable and practical lines. He might even be called an Imperialist; at any rate he had taken part in two Imperial conferences,

where his counsel in affairs affecting the Empire bore the stamp of a large statesmanship. He was critical of the narrow policy pursued in the Transvaal, saw its dangers, and warned those who were responsible for that policy of the risks they were running. He recognized in Rhodes a willingness to give the Dutch people the consideration to which they were entitled. Rhodes, on the other hand, felt the need of Dutch assistance in working out his large schemes. He saw that only by the two races working together side by side could the highest destiny of South Africa be achieved. The sincerity of his conviction in this regard cannot be doubted. So before taking the Premiership he frankly sought the support of the Bond, whose policy Hofmeyr directed. This support was promised, and thus for some years the two men acted in intimate co-operation, and were on terms of warm friendship. "Both," says Sir T. E. Fuller, "believed in compromise; both had the idea that by keeping together, and perhaps modifying each other's programme, they could work together for the welfare of the country and the union of the races."

On one point only, that of the flag, was Rhodes resolute and uncompromising. He was eager for a union of South Africa, but only such a union as

would not sacrifice or endanger British connection. Speaking at Kimberley soon after accepting the Premiership, he referred first to the promise of Dutch support that he had received, and of his own desire to see the different States united, but added: —

It is customary to speak of a United South Africa as possible within the near future. If we mean a complete union with the same flag, I see very serious difficulties. I know myself that I am not prepared at any time to forfeit my flag. . . . If you take away my flag you take away everything. Holding these views, I can feel some respect for the neighbouring States where men have been born under Republican institutions and with Republican feelings. When I speak of South African Union, I mean that we may attain to perfect free trade as to our commodities, perfect and complete internal railway communication, and a general Customs Union, stretching from Delagoa Bay to Walfisch Bay; and if our statesmen should attain to that, I say they will have done a good work.

And again, a few months later, addressing directly the members of the Bond at their annual conference, he was equally emphatic: —

It took me twenty years to amalgamate the diamond mines here. It was done in detail, step by step, and so our Federation will be done in detail and you must educate your children in this policy. I may meet with opposition in carrying out my ideas, but I will never abandon them. If you desire the cordial co-operation of the English sec-

tion of the country, remember that we have been trained at home, we have our history to look back upon, but that we believed that, with your help, it is possible to obtain closer union and complete self-government, but you must not ask us to forfeit our loyalty and devotion to our mother country.

Frankness could scarcely go further than this. The support of the Cape Dutch was gained on an absolutely definite understanding.

With his policy thus clearly stated and his political position secured he turned to the tasks immediately before him — the routine of colonial administration; pushing northward his Cape-to-Cairo railway and telegraph systems; establishing railway connection between Cape Colony, the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal; efforts at negotiation for those customs arrangements between the States by which he hoped to increase the prosperity and forward the unity of South Africa.

But no variety of work and interest could divert his attention for long from the north. At the close of his first parliamentary session as Premier he set out with a determination to follow in the track of his pioneers into Mashonaland, in order to see the country for himself. After reaching the Tuli River, more than a thousand miles from Cape Town, he

was with difficulty dissuaded from continuing the journey by the urgent representations of the Imperial High Commissioner, who had so far accompanied him and had become keenly alive to the risks involved in the attempt, on account of the attitude of the Matabele. On his return journey he passed through the Transvaal, where he had a friendly interview with President Kruger.

It was not till the end of his second session as Premier that Rhodes was able to carry out his plan of visiting the region he had gained for the Empire. On this occasion he went by sea along the East Coast to Beira, ascended the Pungwe River for some distance in a flatboat, and then trekked over the difficult and unhealthy route that led to the Mashonaland Plateau. He traversed much of the country, looked into questions of administration, gave assistance and encouragement to those who were facing the difficulties of early settlement, visited the ancient gold-workings and the mysterious ruins of Zimbabwe, and then returned over the route which had been followed by the pioneer force, thus completing a rough journey of four thousand miles. He came back more deeply convinced than ever of the value of the new territory.

This trip made Rhodes an optimist in regard to

the security of the country, as well as its value, and speaking at a meeting of the British South Africa Company in the autumn of 1892 he declared that he no longer had any fear of trouble from the Matabele. He was soon to be rudely undeceived.

Lo Bengula, while anxious to observe the treaty to which he himself had agreed, and greatly pleased with the large subsidy paid to him monthly, was unable to restrain the warlike instincts of his savage Matabele followers, jealous of the neighbourhood of a white population, and impatient to "wash their spears," as in past years, in attack on the Mashonas and other weaker tribes around them. One of the raiding parties in the summer of 1893 entered the Mashona country, and in the very suburbs of the principal white settlement murdered the native servants of the English pioneers. The minor chief of a neighbouring territory, Chibu, who claimed to be independent, and to whom Rhodes had paid a friendly visit in 1892, was raided and massacred, with all his people, at about the same time. Dr. (now Sir Starr) Jameson, the Administrator of the Chartered Company, did what he could to avoid a conflict, which might well mean ruin to the Company, and disaster to the whole work of occupation. His efforts were supported by the Im-

perial High Commissioner, but without avail. A demand from Lo Bengula that the Mashonas in the neighbourhood of Victoria — men, women and children — should be handed over to him for execution practically decided the anxious question that Jameson was considering. "On his arrival at Victoria," says Sir Lewis Michell, "he wired to Rhodes at Cape Town explaining the situation and adding that if a blow were once struck, it might become necessary to assume the offensive and march on Bulawayo. Rhodes, then sitting in the House, replied laconically, 'Read Luke XIV, 31.' On receipt of this message, Jameson called for a Bible and replied, 'All right.' His decision was soon translated into action." A body of police and volunteers — less than a thousand in all — was hastily organized. Rhodes himself, just released from parliamentary duties at the Cape, having sold fifty thousand of his own shares in the Company in order to furnish funds for the emergency, travelled up the East Coast by sea to Beira, and finally joined the small column that had started from Salisbury. The trained regiments of the Matabele, numbering many thousands of fighting men, were overthrown in two severe engagements, and when the force reached Bulawayo it found that capital in flames and the king in flight.

A detachment of the force sent in pursuit was cut to pieces, every man dying rather than desert wounded comrades. Lo Bengula, wishing to surrender, but basely betrayed by two white men to whom he entrusted his message of submission, perished in the flight, and was never heard of again. With the power of the Matabele thus shattered, the country became quiet, the old settlers were able to pursue their work without fear, and new ones began to flow in.

About the righteousness of crushing a savage and cruel power such as that of the Matabele, Rhodes had no doubt. He had critics of his course in England and warm defenders as well, perhaps alike sincere. The transition stage from savagery to civilization is never an easy one, and involves nice problems of right and wrong in the conduct of those who effect the change. America, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as Africa, have had these problems to deal with. That Rhodes and those who worked with him do not suffer from any comparison of methods, and that in the long run their action served the ends of mercy as well as those of civilization, few will now question.

It was not only in the north that Rhodes had at this period to combat the reign of African barbar-

ism. A few months later, in Cape Colony, he was practically compelled to carry out the annexation of Pondoland, a large native territory in which the conflicts of rival factions had led to a state of intolerable anarchy. Escorted by only a hundred mounted police and at no slight risk, he entered the territory, overawed by his personal influence the more troublesome chiefs, and settled the terms of annexation, which were agreed to by the natives themselves and confirmed by act of the Legislature.

It happened that during the same year Rhodes had to deal, also in Cape Colony, with the native question from a constructive point of view. His action forms an interesting sequel to what has just been narrated.

The Glen Grey Act, which he placed upon the statutes of the Colony in 1893, when he held the portfolio of Native Affairs, embodied his ideas as to the methods by which the South African native could best be drawn into the paths of civilization. Of this Act Sir Thomas Fuller says: —

> A bolder or more original measure was never submitted to a legislative assembly. It was founded on the conviction that the tribal life of the Kafir was an organized life; that the Kafir for ages had been a born politician in his own sphere; and that the way to bring him into line with

civilized life and a true citizenship was to develop and give play to these instincts, and put public responsibility upon his shoulders to the extent to which he could bear it.

Rhodes entered upon this experiment with a deep sense of the greatness of the problem with which he was dealing. When introducing the Bill into the Legislature he referred to the fact that, including the native population of the Cape Colony, that of the Northern Territory, and the workers in the mines, he was responsible for the welfare of about two millions of coloured people.

The measure was designed to give a settled land tenure instead of the communal system that had hitherto prevailed — to teach the beginnings of self-government, and to overcome the inveterate idleness which constitutes the greatest hindrance to progress among the native races of South Africa. Over considerable areas reserved for the purpose land was parcelled out to native proprietors in lots of twelve acres, and to prevent the breaking-up of these small estates they were to be held on the hereditary principle. For Glen Grey and the other locations to which the Act was extended a governing body was provided, partly elected by the natives, partly nominated by Government with the power of taxation for local purposes. Able-bodied

natives who did not own an allotment were compelled to pay an annual tax of ten shillings if not employed at a regular wage. In operation the measure, which was gradually extended to cover a population of about one hundred and sixty thousand, has proved a success, and will doubtless influence all future legislation upon the question.

But to return. The flight and death of Lo Bengula now made it necessary to provide for the government of Matabeleland. After consultation with the High Commissioner and consideration of the whole situation, the administration of the country was by Order of Council entrusted by Her Majesty's Government to the Chartered Company, which had already occupied and taken control of Mashonaland. The rule of the Company was to be subject to the ultimate control of the High Commissioner. Administrative rights over another vast territory were in this way added to those land and mineral rights which had already, with the full sanction of the Imperial Government, been obtained. Thus a great State was added to the Empire through the bold imagination and persistent effort of a single man, the courage of a handful of pioneers, and the application of private resources to national purposes. For a quarter of a century the administration thus

established has carried on its civilizing work under great difficulties, but with increasing success.

Rhodes never ceased to impress upon the shareholders who supported him in the enterprise that the main ends he had in view were Imperial — that dividends were doubtful and remote — and that they must place patriotism before profit in carrying out the great scheme to which they had put their hands. Statements made by him in this spirit sometimes troubled the City man, anxious for immediate results, and without the vision that was ever before the founder of the new State. But large gatherings of shareholders were more than once entirely carried away, even without the promise of dividends, by his infectious enthusiasm.

The period with which we are dealing, during which for five years Rhodes was Premier of Cape Colony, furnishes astonishing illustration of the untiring energy that he threw into the work of life. The activities of these years were as various as they were intense. He was at the height of his working power, but even then he apparently knew that his working time would not be long. The eager haste with which he pressed on to his ends, the irritation he sometimes showed at obstacles that stood in his way, the mistakes he made, are probably accounted

for in large measure by this knowledge that what had to be done must be done quickly.

The management of a party including both Dutch and English, with widely divergent interests to be harmonized, much public speaking, a break-up and reconstruction of his ministry, a general election, the administration of the Native Department of the Colony, the oversight of provincial legislation and constant attendance in Parliament, would seem of themselves to furnish work enough for an ordinary man. To this was added the direction of the diamond mining industry at Kimberley, of gold mining enterprises at Johannesburg, and the direction of the Chartered Company with all its responsibilities. Between parliamentary sessions rapid journeys were annually made to England to meet his Board of Directors, consult Imperial authorities, or secure the financial backing necessary for his vast and constantly enlarging schemes. Dealing with the Matabele Rebellion and two later visits to his new country filled other interludes in the routine of parliamentary work. Meanwhile he was planning the foundation of an university at the Cape, for which he raised large sums; developing fruit farms on a great scale; and directing the construction of an extensive dynamite factory to combat a monopoly in the Transvaal.

Other important national questions claimed a share of his attention. With a view to the future peace and unhampered development of South Africa he made strenuous efforts in successive years to interest the Home Government in the purchase or lease of the Portuguese Province of Lorenço Marquez, with its important port of access, Delagoa Bay. His prolonged negotiations and enquiries, carried on at considerable expense to himself, failed, but had they proved successful it would have changed the whole history of South Africa, as everyone will recognize who understands the relation of Delagoa Bay to the events of the succeeding years.

A rumour that the Colonial authorities at Downing Street had thoughts of abandoning the Protectorate of Uganda in East Africa brought from him a prompt offer to the Secretary of State to continue to that point the telegraph line that he had already completed to Salisbury in Mashonaland, without any expense to Her Majesty's Government. In making this offer he only asked for the assistance of the Imperial Government in obtaining the necessary sanction to pass through German East Africa, a sanction afterwards obtained on his own personal initiative at Berlin. Meanwhile his efforts probably went far to decide the retention of Uganda. No

point where South African interests were at stake escaped his close attention.

In English politics and parties he maintained an interest, but almost always with immediate reference to those Imperial questions which were uppermost in his thoughts. This was shown on two occasions of peculiar interest. In the year 1888 he contributed ten thousand pounds to the Irish Home Rule Fund; in 1891 he made a contribution of five thousand pounds to the funds of the Liberal Party. On each occasion he took special care to place on record the motives by which he was actuated in making these contributions. The first of these sums was given to Mr. Parnell only after an emphatic written assurance had been given by the Irish leader that no measure of Home Rule that he proposed should interfere with the consolidation of the Empire on some federal plan, nor exclude Irish members from the Parliament at Westminster.

The correspondence between the two men has been published in full and deserves careful reading, since it outlines the views of Rhodes upon future Imperial organization. Explaining the transaction to his constituents in South Africa he said: —

> I gave that money to his cause because in it lies the key of the Federal System, on the basis of perfect Home Rule

for every part of the Empire, and in it also the Imperial tie begins.

In making the second of these contributions he wrote to the organizing agent of the party: —

I enclose you a cheque for £5000, and I hope you will, with the extreme caution that is necessary, help in guiding your party to consider politics other than those of England. . . . I make but two conditions; please honourably observe them; (1) that my contribution is secret; (2) if the exigencies of party necessitate a Home Rule Bill without representation at Westminster, your association must return my cheque.

He adds in a postscript: —

I am horrified by Morley's speech on Egypt. If you think your party hopeless keep the money, but give it to some charity you approve of. It would be an awful thing to give my money to breaking up the Empire.

In a letter to the agent two months later he says:

The matter that is troubling me is your policy as to Egypt. I was horrified when I returned from Mashonaland to read a speech of Mr. Gladstone's, evidently foreshadowing a scuttle if he came in. . . . If your respected Leader remains obdurate when he comes into power, and adopts this policy of scuttle, I shall certainly call upon you to devote my subscription to some public charity in terms of my letter to you, as I certainly, as a Liberal, did not subscribe to your party to assist in the one thing that

I hate above everything, namely, the policy of disintegrating and breaking up the Empire.

On parallel lines were his views on questions of Imperial trade. Among his papers was found, after his death, a copy of a letter addressed to Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada, who had just won a keenly contested election on questions which involved preferential trade with the mother country. In this letter he says: —

I wish to write and congratulate you on winning the elections in Canada. I read your manifesto and I could understand the issue. If I might express a wish, it would be that we could meet before stern fate claims us. I might write pages, but I feel I know you and your politics as if we had been friends for years. The whole thing lies in the question: Can we invent some tie with our mother country that will prevent separation? It must be a practical one, for future generations will not be born in England. The curse is that English politicians cannot see the future. They think they will always be the manufacturing mart of the world, but do not understand what protection coupled with reciprocal relations means. I have taken the liberty of writing to you, and if you honour me with an answer I will write again.

A similar letter was written to Sir Henry Parkes, then the leading statesman of Australia. A touch of pathos is given to the letter to Sir John Macdonald,

which is dated May 8, 1891, by the fact that only four days after it was written "stern fate" laid its hand on the veteran Canadian Premier by the stroke of paralysis which a few weeks later terminated his career.

With the same object of strengthening material ties with the motherland, he succeeded in 1898, in the face of much opposition from the Home Government, in getting inserted into the Constitution of the new Territories, a clause providing that

> No customs duties levied on any articles produced or manufactured in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions or in any British Protectorate, and imported into Southern Rhodesia, shall exceed in amount the duties levied on such articles according to the tariff in force in the South African Customs Union at the commencement of this Order.

This was practically binding the Territories of the Chartered Company to preferential trade within the Empire.

Looking back upon a record such as this it may fairly be doubted whether any British statesman of his time was taking as wide and comprehensive a view of Imperial questions as was Rhodes. On no one has the name of "Empire-Builder" been bestowed with greater justice.

But all these activities were soon to be overshadowed in South Africa by other events which were now hastening forward to a crisis. In this crisis, as has been said before, the two strongest wills in the whole sub-continent were pitted against each other, each bent with fixed determination on gaining its own end. While Cecil Rhodes was straining every nerve to widen the range of British influence and unite English and Dutch in working out a great British future for the country, Paul Kruger was cherishing more and more his dream of a Dutch supremacy.

The attempts to extend the Transvaal westward into Bechuanaland — eastward through Swaziland to the sea — northward into the territories of the Chartered Company — were all bold moves towards this end. The hampering of Cape Trade with the Transvaal and finally the closing of the Drifts in 1895 — the denial of citizen rights to the Uitlanders — were parts of the same policy. No useful purpose would be served by reviewing here the various stages in this prolonged trial of strength. A considerable literature has been devoted to their discussion from every point of view, and in this they can be studied in detail.

But now that the conflict is over, we can see

clearly the strange blindness which, in the keenness of the contest, fell upon both of the protagonists in this great struggle — a blindness which was inevitably leading to the temporary eclipse of one great career — the total eclipse of the other. It has been said that the tragedy of history consists not in the conflict of right with wrong, but of right with right. Never, except perhaps in the war of the Southern Secession, was this saying more justified than in the case of South Africa. On either side the inspiring force sprang from strong sentiment and deep-rooted convictions. Rhodes himself respected the qualities of his Dutch opponent and understood the passion of nationality as well as the love of power that had been developed in him by circumstances. While denouncing the methods and combating the plans of President Kruger, he yet understood better than almost any one else the compelling forces which drove him onward in his mistaken course. But he saw also that any Dutch control such as his opponent aimed at would be narrow, exclusive, and therefore impossible for the great and united South Africa which filled his vision. Against its establishment he had no hesitation in opposing all the resources at his disposal. The wealth derived from the diamond mines — his personal effort — his in-

fluence as Premier and as the head of the Chartered Company — were alike thrown into the scale.

To the support of Kruger also had come sudden and unexpected command of money from the development of the gold mines of the Rand. But with the influx of wealth there had also come to the Transvaal an influx of virile and enterprising population, drawn at first into the country for mere business ends, but naturally bent, as it established itself, on gaining some reasonable share in the control of the State to which it had brought such unexampled prosperity. Against the concession of any such share of control the aged President of the Dutch Republic, in defiance of the teachings of history, hardened his heart. He thought that he saw in it the ultimate downfall of his own power. Even so, his only hopeful policy would have been one of conciliation. The major part of this new population was British and American, with British and American ideas of self-government. The old cry of civic liberty — "no taxation without representation" — made itself heard. The people who uttered it were furnishing ninety per cent of the revenues of the State which treated with contempt their just demands for political recognition. It was an impossible situation and all the portents of revolution

were soon in the air. Rhodes believed that revolution was, under the circumstances, not only inevitable, but justifiable, and so lent his encouragement to an uprising in Johannesburg, projected with the idea of forcing the concessions which were so sternly denied. But in doing this he forgot that he was Prime Minister.

Without consultation with his colleagues, or with the representative of the Crown, he allowed a considerable force of mounted police, under the command of Dr. Jameson, to be concentrated on the borders of the Transvaal, ready to act in support of any rising that took place. A premature movement of this force precipitated the events known to history as the "Jameson Raid." Over-estimation of the strength behind the insurrection that had been planned and under-estimation of the Boer power of resistance, made the Raid a failure as well as a mistake. It strengthened temporarily Kruger's position; made more acute the animosities which afflicted the country, and drove from the field the one man who had hitherto seemed able to harmonize racial feeling and lead Dutch and English along paths of united effort. The continuous success which had so far marked the career of Rhodes was brought to an abrupt end. He had now to learn the

lessons taught by humiliation and defeat. While the immediate decision which led to the Raid was made by the leader of the expedition himself, the moral responsibility for the act of aggression was by general consent assigned to Rhodes, and he did not shrink from accepting it.

Few mistakes made by any public man have ever met with more instant and overwhelming punishment. Under the pressure of public feeling in South Africa and England, he had to resign both the Premiership of Cape Colony and what he valued more — his seat on the Board of the Chartered Company. On all sides the opinion was expressed that his career was ended. The tempest that broke upon him might well have shaken the courage of a weaker man. This first sharp rebuff of fortune did, indeed, for a time test him severely. For a week he remained in seclusion, preserving a silence which was much misunderstood at the moment, but afterwards known to have sprung from a chivalrous unwillingness to say or do anything which would further endanger the position of the leaders of the Raid and of the Johannesburg Revolutionary Committee, now prisoners in Pretoria, and awaiting trial.

That Rhodes made a great and vital error in lending his encouragement and direct support, as Prime

Minister of Cape Colony, to the movement against the established Government of the Transvaal, no friend of his would deny. He himself frankly admitted this, as have those who were chiefly concerned in it. That he should sympathize with the wrongs under which the Uitlanders suffered was legitimate and natural enough. But that he should, with armed forces, assist revolution in a neighbouring and friendly State, without the knowledge of his colleagues or of the representative of the Crown, admits of no justification. Such defence as he himself made was rather of the motive that actuated him than of the act itself. His statement made to the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the circumstances of the Raid explains the attitude of his mind. In this statement he says: —

> From the date of the establishment of the gold industry on a large scale at Johannesburg, much discontent has been caused by the restrictions and impositions placed upon it by the Transvaal Government; by the corrupt administration of that Government; and by the denial of civil rights to the rapidly growing Uitlander population. This discontent has gradually but steadily increased, and a considerable time ago I learnt, from my intercourse with many of the leading persons in Johannesburg, that the position of affairs there had become intolerable. After

long efforts they despaired of obtaining redress by constitutional means, and were resolved to seek, by extra-constitutional means, such a change in the Government of the South African Republic as should give to the majority of the population, possessing more than half the land, nine-tenths of the wealth, and paying nineteen-twentieths of the taxes in the country, a due share in its administration. I sympathized with and, as one largely interested in the Transvaal, shared in these grievances; and further, as a citizen of the Cape Colony, I felt that the persistently unfriendly attitude of the Government of the South African Republic towards the Colony was the great obstacle to common action for practical purposes among the various States of South Africa. Under these circumstances I assisted the movement in Johannesburg with my purse and influence. Further, acting within my rights, in the autumn of 1895 I placed on territory under the administration of the British South Africa Company upon the borders of the Transvaal, a body of troops under Dr. Jameson, prepared to act in the Transvaal in certain eventualities. I did not communicate these views to the Board of Directors of the British South Africa Company. With reference to the Jameson Raid I may state that Dr. Jameson went in without my authority. Having said this, I desire to add that I am willing generally to accept the finding as to facts contained in the Report of the Committee of the Cape Parliament. I must admit that in all my actions I was greatly influenced by my belief that the policy of the present Government of the South African Republic was to introduce the influence of another foreign power into the already complicated system of South

Africa, and thereby render more difficult in the future the closer union of the different States.

How far this last opinion was justified is indicated, if not proved, by a speech made by President Kruger in 1895, the year of the Raid. At a banquet given in honour of the Kaiser's birthday he said:—

I know I may count on the Germans in future, and I hope Transvaalers will do their best to foster the friendship that exists between them. . . . I feel certain that when the time comes for the Republic to wear larger clothes, you will have done much to bring it about. . . . The time is coming for our friendship to be more firmly established than ever.

If further confirmation of the view taken by Rhodes were needed, it would be found in the famous telegram in which the Kaiser congratulated President Kruger "that without appealing to the help of friendly powers" the Raid had been suppressed; a telegram which, implying the possibility of German intervention in South Africa, stirred English feeling to the depths, and strongly influenced the future course of events. It is pleasant to remember here that six years later circumstances brought it about that Kaiser and ex-Prime Minister could meet and in a friendly spirit compare notes about their indiscretions.

But that even a national danger such as this did

not give sufficient excuse for his action Rhodes admitted. Sir Thomas Fuller reports a speech addressed to a party of parliamentary colleagues, the substance of which was afterwards repeated to a large public meeting at Cape Town. He said: —

> I do not so much regret joining in an attempt to force President Kruger into a juster and more reasonable policy, when he had resolutely refused all redress of grievances; but what has been a burden to me is that I was Prime Minister at the time, and that I had given a promise that I would not do anything incompatible with the joint position I held as Director of the Chartered Company and Premier of the Cape Colony. On every ground I was bound to resign, if I took such a course as assisting in a revolution against an officially friendly State; and I did not. I can only say that I will do my best to make atonement for my error by untiring devotion to the best interests of South Africa.

To make this frank confession of error must have put a strain on a self-confident and imperious temperament such as that of Rhodes, and the point at which it was made was not reached at once, nor, we may be sure, without a struggle. But once sincerely made it pointed the way to forgiveness and reinstatement, at least among people who recognize the truth of the saying that men who never make a mistake seldom make anything.

In the light of subsequent events we can see that the Jameson Raid, like John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry (to take another parallel from American history), was but a premature and quixotic attempt to deal with ills too desperate and deep-seated for such insufficient treatment. It foreshadowed the deadly and prolonged struggle that was impending, but was by no means its cause. Time has placed it in its true perspective. Its leader, the most intimate friend and trusted lieutenant of Rhodes, heir beyond any other to his political ideas and purposes, following out on Constitutional lines the great policy of his chief, has lived to see that policy justified, to fill the post of Prime Minister of Cape Colony, to take a leading part in close and friendly co-operation with the foremost Dutchmen of the Transvaal in working out the unification of South Africa, to receive high honours from the Crown, and, when compelled by ill-health to withdraw temporarily from public life, to do so acclaimed by Dutch and English alike for his patriotic and self-sacrificing devotion to the interests of South Africa.

For the moment, however, Rhodes and Jameson alike were swept away in defeat as the result of their mistaken move. Jameson was sent to Eng-

land, tried, and condemned to a period of imprisonment. The leaders of the insurrection, at first sentenced to death by a Boer court, were finally reprieved, but subjected to heavy fines, to the payment of which Rhodes contributed more than sixty thousand pounds. Two Parliamentary Committees — one at Cape Town, the other in London — investigated the circumstances with special reference to the part taken by Rhodes himself. The Report of the Committee of the Cape Legislature placed on record a formal condemnation of the course taken, as "not consistent with his duty as Prime Minister of the Colony"; but the member of the Committee who moved the adoption of the Report used memorable words which showed that it was the judgment, not the character of Rhodes, which was impugned: —

> I will never [he said] be led into the suggestion that his motives were at any time grovelling or sordid: and I believe that a vast majority of the people, not only in this Colony, but throughout South Africa, including the Transvaal, would say the same. The aim of Mr. Rhodes was a high one. I wish it had been a right one.

Deprived of official position, Rhodes had now to face life under changed conditions. He did so with courage, with unshaken faith in his guiding pur-

pose, and with hope for the future. A few days after resigning office he was at Kimberley. Met at the station by almost the entire population, anxious to cheer him in the hour of disaster, and clamouring for a speech, he said: —

> There is an idea abroad that my public career has come to an end. On the contrary, I think it is just beginning, and I have a firm belief that I shall live to do useful work for this country.

Then he sailed for England, and met his associates of the Chartered Company with such statement of the circumstances and such vindication of his action as he could offer. He also saw the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, who had not long before assumed control of the office in which he was to do such momentous work. His official duty done, Rhodes's stay in England was short. He had made up his mind that for the present his field of work was Rhodesia. Having arranged to return and give evidence when required before the Parliamentary Committee, he was in a few weeks on his way, returning by the East Coast route to Beira, resolved to throw all his energies into the development of the new territory. He had escaped from a storm of criticism and detraction; he found himself almost at once plunged into a tempest of actual war.

With their superstitions aroused by an epidemic of rinderpest which swept away the cattle of the whole country, excited by exaggerated accounts of the Raid and the defeat of the Administrator who had hitherto kept them under control, and irritated by the methods of the native police, the Matabele rose in rebellion, murdered numbers of the settlers, men, women, and children, and made a determined effort to drive the white man from the country. They were joined in the insurrection by their hereditary enemies, the Mashonas. Everywhere the settlers had to stand for their lives and only the most vigorous action saved the situation. Regular troops under Sir Frederick Carrington were sent to the help of the hastily organized local forces, and over a wide area the fighting was severe. Rhodes accompanied the troops and was frequently under fire. After some months of campaigning the enemy was driven into the rocky fortresses of the Matopos, where it was almost impossible for troops to follow them. It looked as if the war might be indefinitely prolonged, at much sacrifice of men and money, perhaps to the financial ruin of the Chartered Company. The fate of Rhodesia was in the balance. Rhodes determined to settle the struggle after a fashion of his own. The risk was great, but

he thought that he understood the native character, and took his chance. In order to inspire confidence he moved his camp to the foothills of the Matopos, beyond the range of military protection and within easy reach of the enemy. There he remained, quite unprotected and constantly exposed to the attack of the still restless and excited tribesmen. His patience and courage accomplished what arms could not; the chiefs were gradually induced to come out of their retreats to discuss terms of peace. After various preliminary negotiations, a great *indaba* was arranged, to which, in the depths of the Matopos, Rhodes proceeded unarmed, with only three white companions and two native guides. The place of meeting proposed was a natural amphitheatre among the hills, with walls of granite rising on every side. As they approached, the cliffs were seen to be swarming with armed warriors. Rhodes and his companions dismounted, absolutely uncertain up to the last moment whether an ambush had been planned, or whether their reception would be friendly. At length a flag of truce was raised, and a procession of *indunas* came down from the cliffs and formed a semicircle around Rhodes. He asked for and heard their tale of grievances, some of which were real, some imaginary. For those which were

real he promised redress, others he explained away. Then, in terms of anger so strong that his interpreter hesitated to translate them, he attacked the chiefs for their cruel massacres. "I do not upbraid you," he said, "for making war on the white man: but why did you kill our women and children? For that you deserve no mercy." After an impressive pause he continued, "The past is past and done with. But what of the future? Is it to be peace or war?" There was a moment of anxious suspense, when an aged induna took up a stick and held it above his head — then throwing it at the feet of Rhodes he cried: "See, this is my gun: I throw it down at your feet. This is my assegai," repeating the action. The other chiefs shouted assent, and soon they were surrounded by crowds of warriors acclaiming him as Chief and Father. The Matabele Rebellion was practically over. "One of those scenes in life which make it worth living" was his remark as he rode away.

Two of the principal chiefs remaining obdurate, Rhodes waited patiently in the neighbourhood for some weeks till they too yielded and made their submission. During all this time he was in daily communication with the natives, establishing friendly relations and gaining their complete confidence.

The war over, Rhodes prepared to return to England, and face the inquisition of the Parliamentary Committee. In spite of the hostility towards himself that had been stirred up by the Raid, he determined to return by way of the Cape. His journey had the character of a triumphal progress. Delegates from all parts of the Eastern Provinces met him when he landed at Port Elizabeth, and at a large public luncheon given him by the Mayor and citizens he referred to the effect on himself of the troubled year through which he had passed, and to his purposes for the future.

. . . The man [he said] who is continuously prosperous does not know himself, his own mind or character. It is a good thing to have a period of adversity. You then find out who are your real friends. I will admit, Mr. Mayor, that I have had a troubled year. From those from whom I expected most I got least, but from many quarters — some the most remote — I received a kindly support I never anticipated. I am confident enough to say that I do not feel that my public career has closed. I am going home to meet a Committee of my own countrymen. As soon as they release me I am coming back. I shall keep my seat in the Cape House. You may tell me my faults, but until you turn me out, I mean to remain with you. I am determined still to strive for the closer union of South Africa. I only hope that in my future career you will recognize that I have never abandoned this programme.

A similar welcome awaited him at all the centres of English population through which he passed.

More surprising was the attitude of the Dutch settlers. Sir Lewis Michell says: —

> As he neared the capital and traversed the beautiful valley in which the Dutch for many generations have made their homes — a valley inhabited for the most part by members of the Afrikander Bond — it might well have been that he should receive a hostile reception from those who held — or were instructed by their leaders to hold — that he had betrayed them and their nationality. But to their eternal honour they not only forgot but forgave. No amount of wire-pulling shook their belief that Rhodes, with all his faults, was a great man, and, at heart, one of themselves. At every halting-place he was enthusiastically received, and even at the Paarl, Wellington, and elsewhere Dutch addresses of welcome were read which deeply moved him. . . .

At Cape Town itself he was welcomed by great public demonstrations, and on sailing for England was cheered by one still greater. Mistaken as was the Raid, the English population at the Cape knew that the causes which led to the Raid remained, that they stood in the way of the country's peace and progress, and that the ideals of Rhodes were in the main as true as the course of events has since shown them to be.

The investigation carried on by the Parliamentary Committee of the House of Commons extended over several weeks, and Rhodes was under cross-examination for eight days. His main defence has already been mentioned. His statements under examination were recognized as "full, clear, candid, and consistent." Having given his evidence he undertook a short tour in Spain and Italy, partly to be out of the way, partly to study the possibility of introducing the olive into South Africa.

The Report of the House of Commons Committee did little more than confirm the opinion given by that of the Cape Legislature. The real nature of the South African situation was beginning to be understood in England, and the House of Commons rejected by an overwhelming majority a suggestion that the Report should have recommended "some specific steps with regard to Mr. Rhodes."

Before the Report was made, Rhodes was back in South Africa, had taken his seat in the Legislature, and was winning his way back to his old position of influence. He reasserted strongly his early political beliefs, but pledged himself to strive for their acceptance only by constitutional means. He threw himself vigorously into the reorganization of the Progressive Party, and spoke much on behalf of its candidates.

These speeches [says Sir Thomas Fuller] were amongst the best and the most spirited he ever delivered, the great burden of them being the Union of South African States under the charter of equal rights for every civilized man south of the Zambesi. They were glowing with the possibilities of the still expanding North, as supported and ultimately embraced by a united South Africa. They were glowing indeed with the vision of a new South Africa — its latent forces quickened into life by the enterprise and union of politically estranged races working together under new combinations and Imperial sympathies.

The years 1897 and 1898 were full of strenuous activities. Outside the legislative sessions and one or two hurried trips to England, his time was chiefly spent in Rhodesia, where he put forth every effort to encourage the settlers and place the prosperity of the country on a solid foundation. The railway was completed to Bulawayo; that from Beira was pushed forward; against great difficulties the telegraph line to the North was extended; four thousand natives, including a large number of the rebellious chiefs, were settled upon one of his estates in the same neighbourhood. A long illness, during which his life hung in the balance, seemed only to spur him on to new exertions to complete the various tasks to which he had set his hand.

In 1899 he was again in England, making import-

ant financial arrangements for the Chartered Company and for the extension of the northern railway, impressing everybody by his resistless energy and enthusiasm in the pursuit of his large aims. The *Times* said of him at this period:—

> The whole public is now able to perceive the goal at which Mr. Rhodes's Imperial ambition aimed when ten years ago he came to England for the purpose of obtaining a Royal Charter for The British South Africa Company. . . . Reverses, obstacles, and failures, in which he has openly acknowledged his own share of shortcoming, have but strengthened his determined grip upon the scheme of his life's work. All is not done, but his measure of success has been on the whole remarkable. The end has never been abandoned, and step by step advance is made towards its attainment. He confidently hopes to carry through the federation of the British States of South Africa in the near future, and the chain of communications by which the federated States are to be held in touch with British influence north of the equator approaches by practical stages to its completion.

He visited Egypt at this time to study the application of irrigation, a question which he thought vital to the future of South Africa. As a result of this visit he sent from Cairo the following laconic directions to his private agent at Bulawayo:—

> I have seen what water can do when it has brains and energy behind it. Begin the Matopo Dam at once. This

letter is authority for Michell to finance you. The work is left entirely to you. Begin at once and have it ready for next season's rains. We must not let any floods go to waste. The contracts are left to you; you have my authority to go to work at once.

The authority thus given involved the expenditure of thirty thousand pounds.

It was during this visit to England that his old University conferred upon him its honorary D.C.L. degree, a recognition which he valued more, perhaps, than any honour that ever fell to his lot. The circumstances under which it was conferred proved how ready Oxford opinion was to pardon any mistakes that he had made. There had been some suggestion of possible opposition in Convocation when the question of conferring the degree was put. Lord Kitchener, fresh from his victories in the Soudan, received the degree at the same time, but even the presence of the great soldier emphasized, rather than otherwise, the warmth of the reception that Rhodes received.

Never [said a writer at this time] did enthusiasm rise to such a height, as it did on that June day in the theatre at the moment when Rhodes was receiving the degree. Oxford had at last produced a real man of action, an empire-maker, and she was proud of him. . . . The crowds of Masters of Arts who flocked to welcome him

meant to know the reason why if there had been the slightest sign of a hitch in the proceedings. That day was probably one of the happiest days in Rhodes's life, as those well know who are aware of the fascination which Oxford ever had for him. . . . It has lately been said of the great Napoleon that "to very few men in the world's history has it been granted to dream grandiose dreams and all but realize them." The same might be said of Cecil Rhodes, with this addition, that those of his dreams which are still unrealized will be realized very shortly. He will ever remain one of Oxford's greatest sons.[1]

From England Rhodes returned to find South Africa on the verge of the great war which was to decide its future. The conditions which led up to the Raid had steadily become worse during the years that had intervened since he resigned the Premiership. The temporary advantage given to President Kruger by that mistaken movement had confirmed him in the resolution to resist all concessions; had kindled anew the hope of Dutch supremacy over the whole country. To the very last Rhodes refused to believe that his rival would push his obstinacy and his ambitions to the final arbitrament of arms. He was undeceived when the Boer ultimatum of October 9, 1899, directly challenged the right of the British Government to move its own troops on its own territory, and so made war inevitable.

[1] *The Onlooker*, May, 1902.

When the war broke out, Rhodes threw himself into Kimberley, which he knew would be one of the first points of attack. He did this against the urgent advice of his friends, some of whom feared for a life so valuable to South Africa; some that his presence would provoke a sharper attack on the besieged city. But feeling that Kimberley had made his fortune, he considered it a point of honour to share any trial or danger the city had to undergo. When his train reached Kimberley the investment had already begun, and he narrowly escaped capture. For four months he shared the perils of the siege, which was pressed with the greatest vigour because one of the principal fruits of victory would be the capture of Rhodes himself. He threw the same energy into the defence, of which he was on all sides felt to be the life and soul, as he did into the other business of life.

His chief attention was directed to finding food and employment for the many thousands of workers in his mines, whose presence greatly increased the danger that the town might be reduced by starvation. At a large expense to himself and his company the white workers were kept on full wages as a fighting force; many thousands of the natives were employed, within the large area invested, in making avenues and plantations which now add to the

attractions and comfort of the mining town. When the artillery fire from exceptionally heavy guns threatened a panic, he arranged that twenty-five hundred women and children should have shelter in the shafts and galleries of the mines. With the aid of a brilliant young American engineer, named Labram, he even managed to produce from the workshops of the De Beers Company a piece of artillery to match that of the assailants, much to the encouragement of a garrison and population whose endurance had been severely tried.

The prolonged strain of the Kimberley siege seriously affected his health, and aggravated the weakness of the heart from which he had for some years suffered. He had long known that his days were numbered, but his friends hoped that rest and care might yet give him a few years of life. The knowledge that his time was short increased his impatience to get things done.

As the war was drawing to a close, his hopes of a South African federation flamed up anew.

> All contention will be over [he said, in a speech at Kimberley in February, 1900], with the recognition of equal rights for every civilized man south of the Zambesi. That principle, for which we have been so long striving, is the crux of the present struggle, and my belief is that,

when the war is over, a large number of the Dutch in this country will throw in their lot with us on this basis, that neither race shall claim any right of preference over the other. We have no feeling against them. We have lived with them, shot with them, and we find, owing I suppose to the race affinity, that there is not much difference between us. But they have been misled in Pretoria and Bloemfontein, and even in Cape Town.

The event has proved that so far as the political unification of South Africa is concerned he was right. The real unification will depend on the degree to which the large-minded views of Rhodes prevail and the sincerity with which the rulers of the country from time to time try to give them effect.

Nor in speaking of equal rights did he exclude the black man. Asked his opinion directly at about this same time by a deputation of coloured people he scribbled down his faith on a bit of newspaper: —

My motto is — Equal rights for every civilized man south of the Zambesi. What is a civilized man? — A man, whether black or white, who has sufficient education to write his name, has some property or works, in fact, is not a loafer.

After a brief visit to England in 1900 he hurried back to Rhodesia, going by sea from Cape Town, as the railway to the north was still blocked by the war. There he spent several months, visiting every part

of the country, and pressing forward works that he thought would be of advantage to the settlers. The vision of what his northern country was to be grew upon him as he worked. He took every opportunity of pointing out to the people that the rule of the Chartered Company was only a temporary expedient: that they one day would be a self-governing community, and that they must prepare themselves to take a large and honourable place in the united South Africa which was already coming in sight.

Meanwhile in Cape Colony, which had been placed under martial law on account of rebellion in the Dutch districts, and where a suspension of the constitution had been seriously considered, the thoughts of the English and of the more moderate Dutch Electors were beginning to turn to him as the one man who could reconcile differences and restore the fortunes of the country, shattered as they were by the prolonged strife. There seems little doubt that a short time would have seen him restored to his old place of power and influence as the driving force of the continent. But that was not to be. The greater part of 1901 was spent in a search for health in Scotland, Italy, and Egypt.

Early in 1902, in opposition to urgent medical advice, he returned to South Africa. He knew that

his life was at stake in doing so, but he resolutely accepted the risk. His name had been forged for considerable sums under circumstances which made him feel that his honour was engaged in having the facts made clear by his personal evidence. The voyage through the tropics at a trying season and an exceptionally hot summer at the Cape proved more than his overstrained system could endure. After some weeks of intense suffering he died, on March 26, 1902, at Muizenburg, on the seacoast, in a small cottage to which he had been accustomed to go for the benefit of the sea air. To the last he toiled to round off the tasks to which he had set his hand. "So much to do — so little done" — were almost the last articulate words of one who had compressed into a short life so much more than is usually given to man to accomplish.

Amid extraordinary demonstrations of public feeling in every place through which they passed, his remains were conveyed nearly two thousand miles from the Cape to the place where he wished to be buried amid the solitude of the Matopos, in the heart of the land that he had saved for civilization, and near the place where his courage had quelled the Matabele Rebellion.

There he was laid to rest in a grave excavated

from the solid granite of a hill which, from its impressive grandeur, he had named "The World's View," and on which he had often spent long hours of solitary contemplation. A multitude of the pioneers of the country, with representatives drawn from many parts of South Africa, were gathered in this wild spot to do honour to his memory. From the mountain slopes around thousands of natives looked on, and at a signal from their chiefs gave the royal salute of their race, never before, it was said, uttered in honour of a white man.

In this strange scene and to this strange gathering was read for the first time the verse in which his friend Rudyard Kipling tells us what manner of man Cecil Rhodes seemed to be to those who knew him best — what he meant to South Africa, and how men's imaginations were touched by the things he had done and the things of which he had dreamed.

When that great Kings return to clay,
  Or Emperors in their pride,
Grief of a day shall fill a day
  Because its creature died.
But we, we mourn him not with those
  Whom the mere fates ordain —
This power that wrought on us and goes
  Back to the power again.

BURIAL PLACE. (THE MATOPOS)

Dreamer devout by vision led
Beyond our guess or reach,
The travail of his spirit bred
Cities in place of speech.
So huge the all-mastering thought that drove,
So brief the term allowed —
Nations, not words, he linked to prove
His faith before the crowd.

It is his will that he look forth
Across the land he won,
The granite of the ancient North,
Great spaces washed with sun.
There shall he patient make his seat
(As when the death he dared),
And there await a people's feet
In the paths that he prepared.

There, till the vision he foresaw
Splendid and whole arise,
And unimagined Empires draw
To council 'neath his skies,
The immense and brooding spirit still
Shall quicken and control.
Living he was the land, and dead
His soul shall be her soul![1]

Ten years later, on July 5, 1912, the anniversary of his birth, a great gathering of South Africans, English and Dutch, met on the slopes of Table

[1] Acknowledgment is made to Mr. Rudyard Kipling and to Messrs. Methuen & Co. for permission to reprint the above poem.

Mountain to dedicate to the memory of Rhodes a noble monument, conceived and executed as a labor of love by artists of distinction, and contributed to by friends and admirers from all parts of the subcontinent.

Lord Grey had come from England to give the dedication address. A few passages from that address may fittingly close this short sketch of the life of the founder of the Rhodes Scholarships, since they represent the slowly maturing judgment of history on the man and his work.

This memorial has been erected in loving and grateful memory of Cecil Rhodes by many mourners from all parts of South Africa. It has been placed in the very shadow of the mountain that he loved so well. It fronts that beautiful and extensive view which never failed either to soothe or to exhilarate his brooding spirit, and standing here in sight of his old home, where the very atmosphere seems to speak of him, it would be almost presumption in me to enter into the details of a career with which many of those present to-day were personally familiar, and with which all of you are so well acquainted. For my part, I approach the task which has been entrusted to me from a double standpoint — from the standpoint of one who had the good fortune to be admitted by Rhodes during the last ten years of his life into the privileged circle of his friends, and from the standpoint of one who believes that the verdict of history will be that no man born during the last century

exercised a greater influence for good on the character of the present century than the Thinker and Builder to whose outlook and inspiration we desire formally to-day to dedicate our devoted homage.

Like so many whom the gods love, Rhodes died young, but do not let us for that reason make the mistake of calling his end premature. From the grave he speaks to us with even greater force than if he were still alive. The span of days should be measured, not by their number, but by the value of the ideas given to the world, and judged by such a standard, who shall venture to set a limit to the length of Rhodes's life?

There were obstacles enough in Rhodes's path besides ill-health, but the physical weakness which added so much to the difficulties of his task, and finally killed him in the prime of life, together with the memories of his heroic endeavour and unswerving purpose, will help the more to kindle the imagination of the generations to come, for whose sake his work was undertaken, and to whose service it was Rhodes's glorious privilege to devote his brain, his heart, his energies, and his life.

. . . . . .

This monument has been erected to Cecil Rhodes because of the affection he inspired in so many, because of the pride South Africa feels in claiming him as essentially her own, and because it is recognised that his name stands for a great truth, as well as for an inspiring ideal. What is the great truth? It is that in the field of moral endeavour, however adverse the circumstances, there is no limit to the ultimate horizon of a sworn purpose. If you doubt it, turn, as Rhodes himself so often did, to history,

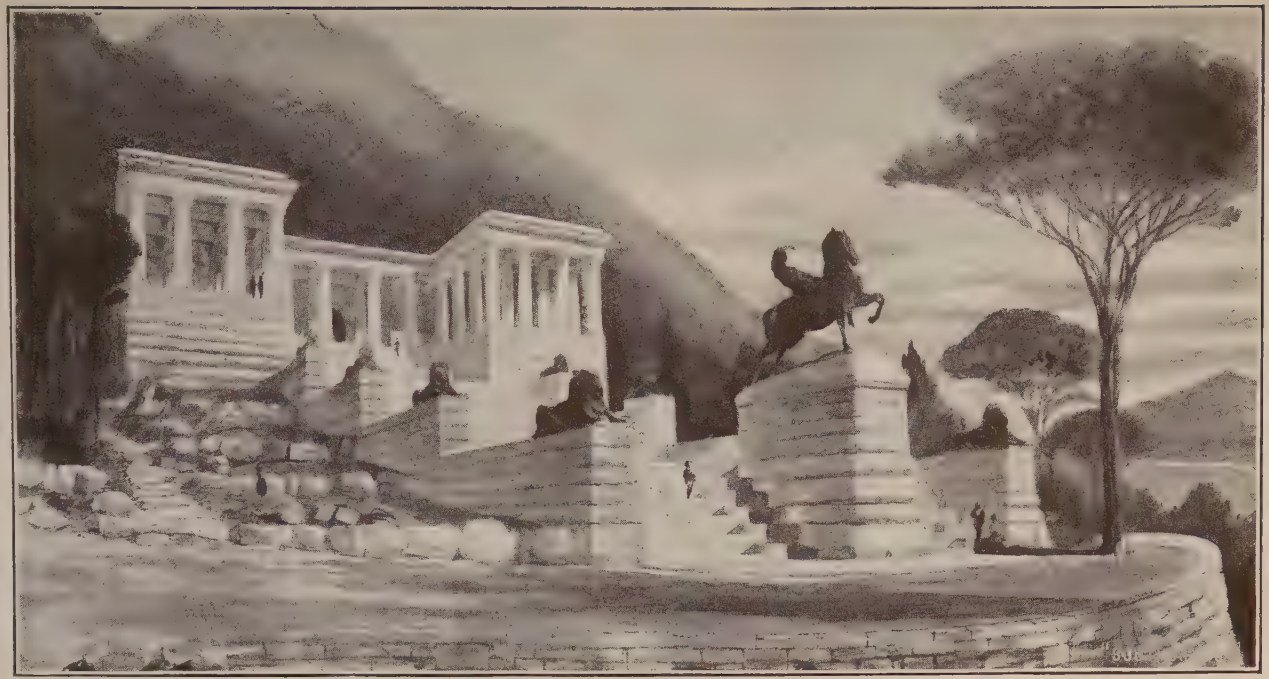
which is full of apparent impossibilities accomplished by individuals, equipped with no other arms but those of earnestness and faith. This monument will add one more chapter to the story of unselfish effort and of heroic achievement, and will teach, with, I trust, increasing emphasis, to noble-minded South Africans yet unborn a lesson of service and of belief in the future of South Africa and the Empire. I have said that the monument embodies not only a great truth, but an inspiring ideal. It was the unswerving aim of Rhodes's life to substitute the law of Justice, Freedom, and Peace, the triple basis of our Christian civilisation, for barbarism in the dark places of Africa, and to establish, so far as possible, permanent peace between the civilised nations of the world. The steps which were to lead to the realisation of these splendid hopes were: (1) The unity of South Africa; (2) the unity of the British Empire; (3) the union of the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic peoples.

This faith was his inseparable companion through life — the last vision before his dying eyes, and found permanent expression in his will. But Rhodes was not merely a dreamer, a visionary enthusiast and idealist; he was much more — he was a practical idealist — a builder, a creator, who saw his means as clearly as his end.

. . . . . .

I now dedicate in all reverence this splendid monument to the Spirit of Cecil Rhodes, in the hope and belief and with a fervent prayer that its influence will promote the peace, happiness, and greatness of South Africa, and the Glory of Almighty God.

It is a monument which speaks to us, not of a dead man,



THE RHODES MEMORIAL MONUMENT, CAPE TOWN

but of a living force. Everywhere the traveller goes in South Africa he finds this force, and what impresses him even more than the material signs of Rhodes's handiwork, which are everywhere conspicuous, even more than the vast territory that bears his name, is the new spirit that he sees in the hearts of men. If you are wise, you will cherish this spirit which is Rhodes's own as your most precious heritage, and you will never forget that when the vision fades the City Perisheth.

NOTE. A copious literature exists for consultation by any one who may wish to study in detail the life of Rhodes and the historic events with which he was connected. It is perhaps sufficient to mention the following works: —

The Life of the Right Hon. Cecil John Rhodes. By the Hon. Sir Lewis Michell. London: Edward Arnold, 1910. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1910.

Cecil Rhodes: His Private Life by His Private Secretary — Philip Jourdan. London: John Lane. New York: John Lane Company, 1911.

The Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes: A Monograph and a Reminiscence. By Sir T. E. Fuller, K.C.M.G. London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Company, 1910.

Cecil Rhodes: His Political Life and Speeches, 1881–1900. Edited by "Vindex." London: Chapman and Hall, 1900.

The Last Will and Testament of Cecil John Rhodes. Edited by W. T. Stead. London: Review of Reviews Office, 1902.

CHAPTER II

THE WILL

THE Will of Cecil Rhodes has touched the imagination of the world more, perhaps, than any other testamentary disposition of wealth made in modern times.

It embodies the thoughts of a man whose ideal of life was public service and who looked upon wealth as a trust to be used for the public good. The spirit of patriotism which inspired it; the touch of wider idealism which gave it a distinction altogether singular; the striking part which the Testator himself had played in the drama of British national life; the divergent views entertained about the motives by which he was actuated, all contributed to throw a glamour of strange interest over the plans by which he proposed to perpetuate and project on the future of the world the ideas which had absorbed his busy brain during his short lifetime. These ideas did not come to him merely in later life; they possessed him from the very beginning of his active career, constituted the basis of his personal ambition, and in-

spired the untiring energy which he threw into the work of life. A succession of wills, all looking to the same end, beginning at a time when he had little to dispose of but ideas, and gradually enlarging in scope as his wealth increased and his views widened, makes this clear beyond any gainsaying. These wills were drawn up respectively in 1877, 1882, 1888, and 1891, and were all inspired by the same central idea — the widening of Anglo-Saxon influence with a view to securing the peace of the world.

During the later years of his life, when he suffered much from misrepresentation as well as from the natural result of mistakes which he himself freely admitted, it was, as he imparted to friends, a consolation to him to know that the final disposition which he had made of his wealth would make even his severest critics understand the principles by which he had been actuated. But it is essential to remember that this final Will is consistent with those which had preceded it, that it was no late atonement for errors, as some have supposed, but was the realization of lifelong dreams persistently pursued.

The great and original conception of his Scholarship System is the feature in the Will of Rhodes which has most struck the popular imagination, and

is that which is to be specially considered here. But in other particulars also it is a remarkable document, stamped in all its parts by the individuality of the Testator.

His choice of a burial-place in the heart of the Matopos, amidst the rugged grandeur of which he had so often spent long periods of solitary contemplation, and his wish that the spot should become a kind of Valhalla for those who had deserved well of South Africa, marked the separateness of his mind and the ideals he cherished about the country to which he had devoted his life.

Carefully thought-out plans for the general good marked the great gifts which he made to the people of South Africa. To use for the benefit of the public of Rhodesia he bequeathed to his trustees two large estates, each of about a hundred thousand acres. To one of these estates near Bulawayo, he attached an endowment of four thousand pounds per annum in order that it might be "planted with every possible tree," and maintained as a park to which a railway was to be built "so that the people of Bulawayo may enjoy the glory of the Matopos from Saturday to Monday." On a part of this property he had already expended nearly thirty thousand pounds to demonstrate the value of irrigation.

To the Inyanga estate an endowment of two thousand pounds a year was added in order that it might be cultivated as an experimental farm for the instruction of the people of Rhodesia in forestry, gardening, fruit farming, and irrigation, and, if possible, the creation of an agricultural college.

The splendid public avenue more than a mile long that leads to his Bulawayo residence, now that of the visiting Directors of the Chartered Company, as well as those made under his direction to adorn the town of Kimberley, illustrate the scale on which his mind worked when planning for the pleasure or welfare of the public. So also the fruit farms which he established on a vast scale in the Great Drakenstein district of Cape Colony at great expense (the land alone having cost him about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds), though not bequeathed to the public by his Will, were really planned for the public good, to demonstrate the capabilities of the country for fruit culture.

Once more, the large estate of Groote Schuur, established under the shadow and along the slopes of Table Mountain, and on the beautifying of which his wealth was lavished, he left as a public park for the enjoyment of the people of Cape Town. The charming home, Groote Schuur, attached to this

estate, built in the Dutch style of architecture, and stamped in every detail with the refined and simple taste of its owner, he left as a residence for the Prime Minister of the united South Africa of which he dreamed. To the bequest he added an endowment to make sure that this official residence of the first Minister of the Crown in South Africa should always be maintained with becoming dignity. That the first occupant to whom the Trustees handed over the place should have been a man of Dutch descent and leader of the Boer forces in the great war, accords well with the views entertained by Rhodes throughout his lifetime as to the necessity of friendly reconciliation and co-operation for the common good of the two white races who occupy South Africa.

His affection for his old College at Oxford, Oriel, he marked by a gift of one hundred thousand pounds, partly for the extension of the College buildings; partly to improve the income of "Such of the resident Fellows of the College as work for the honour and dignity of the College," and partly to "maintain the dignity and comfort of the High Table," that feature of Oxford Colleges which does so much to stamp their character. Even in thus giving expression to his College loyalty his practical

business mind was on the alert, since he adds: "As the College authorities live secluded from the world and so are like children as to commercial matters, I would advise them to consult my Trustees as to the investment of these various funds." In this I think he did some injustice to the business training which Oxford Fellows often get in the management of their considerable College estates.

The Will has yet another striking and characteristic feature. He had no belief in the dead hand, even if that hand were his own. While the Scholarship System is made a Trust, the remainder of his large fortune, beyond the sums assigned to special purposes, was left personally to a chosen group of friends[1] to be used at their absolute discretion in working out the plans about South Africa and the Empire which had filled his mind when alive. He wished these friends to be quite unhampered in using their judgment as to the best way in which this could be effected, according to the change of time and circumstances. When pressed by one of them to define his wishes precisely, he refused, adding jocularly: "You know what my ideas are; see that you carry them out; if you don't, I'll come back

[1] Lord Rosebery, Lord Grey, Lord Milner, Sir Starr Jameson, Sir Lewis Michell, Bourchier F. Hawksley, Esq., Alfred Beit, Esq.

and worry you." In the matter of the Scholarships he left his Trustees with as free a hand as possible in regard to administration, confining his directions chiefly to a general statement of principles.

Even the provision made for his family had its public aspect, and a strongly practical bent. Because he believed that one of the secrets of England's strength was in the country landlord who spent time and trouble in caring for the interests of those on his property, and in the existence of hereditary estates capable of maintaining in dignity and comfort the head of a family, he secured such an estate in the first place as a residence for himself when in England and afterwards to be held in strict entail. But the conditions of the entail illustrated the practical turn of his mind. Lest inherited position of this kind should produce a "loafer," he made it a condition that no heir should become entitled to the full enjoyment of the property unless he had for ten consecutive years at least been engaged in some profession or business.

Practical, patriotic, and interesting as were these dispositions of his property, the endowment of his Scholarship System strikes a still higher note, and illustrates the wider range of his thought.

What the motive of the endowment was is best

expressed in the Testator's own words. They have long been public property, but the essential clauses will bear repetition. He says: —

Whereas I consider the education of young Colonists at one of the Universities in the United Kingdom is of great advantage to them for giving breadth to their views, for their instruction in life and manners, and for instilling into their minds the advantage to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire. And whereas in the case of young Colonists studying at a University in the United Kingdom I attach very great importance to the University having a residential system such as is in force at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge for without it those students are at the most critical period of their lives left without any supervision. . . . And whereas my own University the University of Oxford has such a system. . . . And whereas I also desire to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which I implicitly believe will result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world and to encourage in the students from the United States of North America who will benefit from the American Scholarships to be established for the reason above given at the University of Oxford under this my Will an attachment to the country from which they have sprung but without I hope withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth. Now therefore I direct my Trustees as soon as may be after my death and either simultaneously or gradually as they shall find convenient and if gradually then in such

order as they shall think fit to establish for male students the Scholarships hereinafter directed to be established each of which shall be of the yearly value of £300 and be tenable at any College in the University of Oxford for three consecutive Academical years.

I direct my Trustees to establish certain Scholarships, and these Scholarships I sometimes hereinafter refer to as "the Colonial Scholarships."

These Scholarships so endowed are sixty in number, and have since been increased to sixty-six by the Trustees, in order to fill up some obvious and apparently unintentional omissions. Under this head all the self-governing Colonies of the Empire are provided for, and some others. An annual Scholarship is given to each Province of Canada, each State of Australia, to New Zealand, Newfoundland, Natal, Jamaica, and Bermuda. To Cape Colony, of which he was Prime Minister, he gave four Scholarships annually, and to the country which bears his own name, Rhodesia, he gave three each year. This allocation of Scholarships followed closely his thought as expressed in his earlier wills when he looked chiefly to his own nation as the agency through which he expected to work. His plans had their genesis in patriotic devotion to the British Empire and belief in its influence on the world for good.

Rhodes knew both English and Colonial life, the strength and weakness of each, and he wished the Empire to draw from both the best they had to give. He saw Colonial youth made vigorous by the rougher conditions of a new country, by life in the open air, by freedom from conventionality, youth accustomed to ride, to shoot, to work, to be self-reliant, but somewhat narrowed in view by a provincial life, and missing somewhat the graces of manner and culture which an older society develops, and which promote easy intercourse and open doors closed to those who do not possess them. He believed that if he could add the finish and breadth of view that an older society can give to this rougher vigour of the Colonist, he would be doing what was best for these new lands. He equally believed that the youth of the mother country, moulded in the grooves of an ancient and conservative social system, would be benefited by intercourse with these products of the wider breathing-space of new continents. He held that if the young men who are to rule the various quarters of the Empire — Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, the United Kingdom — in the next generation, could become familiar with each other in their youth, and by an education in common grow into mutual understand-

ing, it would go far to solve the problem of united action when the need should arise. In planning his Colonial Scholarships his aim was unquestionably to forward the unification of the British Empire. But in working for this end he firmly believed that he was working for the good of mankind.

With enlarged experience and wider study of the world, his vision expanded, but still on lines of race and blood. The immense development of the United States as a world-power struck his imagination. He saw that in spite of the constant inflow of varied population the Anglo-Saxon element in that country maintained its controlling influence. He bitterly criticised the lack of wisdom in the policy which originally produced the great schism of the race. A paper exists in which he argues vehemently that America and England would alike have been the better for working out their destiny together by the same process of evolution as that by which in later times free Colonial development has been consistent with national unity. But as the ill was done and the clock of history could not be turned back, then it was, he claimed, a first duty of statesmanship in our day to draw into bonds of closest sympathy and understanding those who had been politically divorced. Hence it was that, rising from a national

to a still wider point of view, he arranged for the distribution of Scholarships as freely among students of the United States as among those of the Dominions and Colonies of the Empire.

The following are the terms in which the appropriation is made: —

I further direct my Trustees to establish additional Scholarships sufficient in number for the appropriation in the next following clause hereof directed and those Scholarships I sometimes hereinafter refer to as the "American Scholarships."

I appropriate two of the American Scholarships to each of the present States and Territories of the United States of North America provided that if any of the said Territories shall in my lifetime be admitted as a State the Scholarships appropriated to such Territory shall be appropriated to such State and that my Trustees may in their uncontrolled discretion withhold for such time as they shall think fit, the appropriation of Scholarships to any Territory.

I direct that of the two Scholarships appropriated to a State or Territory not more than one shall be filled up in any year so that at no time shall more than two Scholarships be held for the same State or Territory.

The Scholarships shall be paid only out of income and in the event at any time of income being insufficient for payment in full of all the Scholarships for the time being payable I direct that (without prejudice to the vested interests of holders for the time being of Scholarships) the

following order of priority shall regulate the payment of Scholarships.

In this scale of priority the Scholarships for Rhodesia are placed first, those for Cape Colony second, the other Colonial Scholarships third, and those for America last.

The Scholarships given annually to Germany were added as a codicil to the original will. In working out his plans for telegraphic and railway communication through the heart of the Dark Continent, Rhodes found it necessary to treat with the German Government for a right of way through the German Protectorate in East Africa, which, abutting upon the Congo Protectorate near Lake Tanganyika, blocks the way between the African areas under British control. With characteristic directness he went to Berlin and laid his plans before the Emperor himself. His reception was extremely cordial, and the necessary powers were readily granted. Of this interview and arrangement he gave an account soon after in an address to the shareholders of the Chartered Company.

I was fortunate enough, through the kindness of the German people, and owing to the character of the German Emperor, who, whatever might have been his feelings in the past as to certain little incidents, which resulted very

unsatisfactorily to myself, and which he deemed it right to censure, still is a broad-minded man. Therefore, when it came to the question of the development of Africa, and when I appealed to him in connection with the portion of Africa which is under his rule, he met one with a breadth of mind which was admirable, and afforded one every help to carry out one's plan, while duly safeguarding the interests of his people. I signed an agreement with his Ministers within three days, providing for the right of the telegraph being extended throughout his territory; and though at the end of forty years the line passes into the possession of the Germans, still they are willing to maintain our through line at actual cost. It was a most just bargain on their part. . . .

Soon after his return from Berlin, newly impressed, no doubt, with the value of personal communication in the management of national affairs, and noting that the German Emperor had made instruction in English compulsory in German schools, he assigned five Scholarships of two hundred and fifty pounds a year each annually to Germany, leaving the nomination of the Scholars in the hands of the Emperor. The reason for the addition of German Scholarships to those assigned to the Empire and the United States is given in the Will with simple directness: —

The object is that an understanding between the three

great Powers will render war impossible and educational relations make the strongest tie.

Such is the international scope of this remarkable testament — the contribution of a singularly original and powerful mind to the solution of the world's problems. It was arrived at in the mind of its Founder by a long process of evolution, the original motive of which was intense conviction — the moving spring a far-reaching idealism which gathered strength and direction as his outlook on the world widened.

The directions and suggestions given in the Will for the selection of Scholars remain to be mentioned. In their final form they read as follows: —

My desire being that the students who shall be elected to the Scholarships shall not be merely bookworms I direct that in the election of a student to a Scholarship regard shall be had to (i) his literary and scholastic attainments (ii) his fondness of and success in manly outdoor sports such as cricket football and the like (iii) his qualities of manhood truth courage devotion to duty sympathy for the protection of the weak kindliness unselfishness and fellowship and (iv) his exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his schoolmates for those latter attributes will be likely in after life to guide him to esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim. As mere

suggestions for the guidance of those who will have the choice of students for the Scholarships I record that (i) my ideal qualified student would combine these four qualifications in the proportions of 3-10ths for the first 2-10ths for the second 3-10ths for the third and 2-10ths for the fourth qualification so that according to my ideas if the maximum number of marks for any Scholarship were 200 they would be apportioned as follows — 60 to each of the first and third qualifications and 40 to each of the second and fourth qualifications (ii) the marks for the several qualifications would be awarded independently as follows (that is to say) the marks for the first qualification by examination for the second and third qualifications respectively by ballot by the fellow students of the candidates and for the fourth qualification by the head master of the candidate's school and (iii) the results of the awards (that is to say the marks obtained by each candidate for each qualification) would be sent as soon as possible for consideration to the Trustees or to some person or persons appointed to receive the same and the person or persons so appointed would ascertain by averaging the marks in blocks of 20 marks each of all candidates the best ideal qualified students.

No student shall be qualified or disqualified for election to a Scholarship on account of his race or religious opinions.

Except in the cases of the four schools hereinbefore mentioned the election to Scholarships shall be by the Trustees after such [if any] consultation as they shall think fit with the Minister having the control of education in such Colony Province State or Territory.

It will be seen that in this outline of his views Rhodes introduces new features into the competition for University Scholarships. For the most part such competitions have hitherto been decided on grounds of intellectual superiority alone. Power of thought and literary skill in giving thought expression, combined with a glutinous memory for Greek verbs, Latin idioms, modern languages, algebraic formulæ, scientific facts, and the like have furnished the best guarantees of successful competition. Rhodes by no means despised these things, but he thought of others. With the culture of the schools he desired to combine the qualities which make for practical success and moral influence in life. He wished his Scholars to have a sound body as well as a clear head. He would have them strong in character as well as in reasoning power — in short, all-round men in body, mind, and spirit. It was not even chiefly for the sake of the sound body that Rhodes laid stress upon athletic tastes and habits. Those who knew him best affirm that he had much more in his mind the moral discipline given by games as he had seen them played at the great Public Schools and Universities of England; the training in fair play, the absence of all trickery, the chivalrous yielding of advantage to an opponent,

the acceptance of defeat with cheerfulness and of victory without boastfulness — in short, putting "the game before the prize." A friend who frequently discussed the question with him has told me that he dwelt upon the character-moulding influence of games almost as if it were a religious test that he wished to be applied to his Scholars.

It will be shown in succeeding chapters that considerable difficulty has been met with in applying the tests outlined by these ideas and suggestions of Rhodes. In some particulars and under some circumstances it has proved impracticable to do this satisfactorily. His knowledge of educational and athletic conditions in different countries was limited; he probably did not understand the vast geography with which he proposed to deal or the huge populations and various institutions from which his Scholars were sometimes to be extracted. But he left his Trustees a free hand in dealing with details, and he has furnished a splendid ideal towards which, as time passes and experience is gained, those who administer the Trust, and those whose aid they have to employ in selecting the Scholars, may steadily work.

Even if we consider the scheme merely as a monument to the Founder himself it is unique in this,

that it is a monument to be gradually built up of living men, inspired by the thought of service to their fellows, and especially equipped for doing this service. Whether the aims he had in view will be acccomplished is a question that the centuries alone can answer. Nations take long to grow; the influences that move them operate slowly and almost imperceptibly. Rhodes himself was essentially a practical man, and no doubt knew well that any means he had at his disposal were not of themselves adequate to the vast purposes of national consolidation and international conciliation that were in his mind. But he thought that he might at least give an impulse to a great cause; his hope was that others might imitate his example, and that thus forces would be set in motion more powerful than any he had at his own command. Still one may be allowed to doubt if there is in the world to-day in operation any scheme more nobly planned for the realization of a large and generous object. By the liberality of its provisions it has opened up opportunities to a large body of selected young men in all coming generations such as have never before been enjoyed by any similar body of youth in the world. The majority of the Rhodes Scholars will doubtless be ordinary men, doing with some consider-

able advantage of preparatory training and with widened outlook the world's ordinary work. Probably Rhodes did not expect more. But the inspiration of a great idea gives significance to any work or any worker, and he will be a poor Scholar who, after enjoying for three years what has been provided for him, is not touched with some spark of the divine fire, the devotion to world service, which burned in the spirit of the Founder. And we may fairly hope that once in a while there will be found the exceptional man in whom that flame will be brought to a white heat, helping him to "lift the world's heart higher."

CHAPTER III

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COLLEGES

THE first necessary step in giving effect to the Bequest of Mr. Rhodes was to ascertain the attitude of Oxford University itself and of its various Colleges towards his proposal. To understand the distinction thus implied it is necessary to know something of the peculiar organization of the University. As a teaching and degree-granting body it must be considered apart from the twenty-one Colleges grouped around it, each of which is an independent, self-governing community, owning its own property, exercising domestic discipline, and giving instruction in its own way, but without any power of giving degrees. Unlike most Colonial and American universities, Oxford has no fixed entrance standard. Any of its colleges is free to determine its own conditions of entrance, and to accept or reject applicants at pleasure. When a College has accepted a student it presents his name to the University, and he is, without further question, entered upon the list of Matriculants. On the other hand, the Uni-

versity requires that every Matriculant shall be presented to it by either a College or the Delegacy for non-collegiate students, thus fixing responsibility; it exercises very considerable powers of general discipline over all undergraduates, furnishes professorial and other teaching, and guards rigidly by examination every stage of the student's advance towards a degree.

From what had been said it will be seen that the University, as such, could do little more than give a general approval to the Scholarship Scheme. This it did with the greatest cordiality. Such a tribute of affectionate loyalty from a man of affairs as that expressed to Oxford in the Will of Mr. Rhodes, few institutions of learning have ever received. The confidence in its moulding power, implied in committing to the care of the University, for centuries to come, selected representatives of the Anglo-Saxon and German world, for the realization of a great ideal, was a rare and profound compliment. That Oxford should have two hundred students more or less is a small matter, but that she should have inspired such confidence in the heart and mind of one old pupil; that a great empire-builder should have picked her out to be the home of his far-reaching plans, to be a centre of national and interna-

tional influence, was a very great matter, even for an ancient university already rich in inspiring traditions. Oxford's outlook on the world was already wide. Statesmen and rulers she had long sent in numbers to every part of a vast Empire. But a scheme which opened a possibility for chosen youth of the whole Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic world to learn their lessons at her feet was, even for her, a wonderful widening of opportunity which she heartily welcomed. Approval was only tempered by some slight regret that no part of the endowment could be applied to strengthen the teaching power of the University, called upon as it would be by the Bequest to undertake enlarged responsibilities, and by some doubt whether the unusual conditions on which the selection of Scholars was to be made could be successfully worked.

The question of receiving the Rhodes Scholars was, however, really one for the different Colleges — not for the University — to decide, and hence they were consulted individually as to their willingness to accept Scholars sent to them by the Trust, the conditions of entrance on which they would insist, and the numbers they would be able to receive. It must be remembered that in a residential system such as that of Oxford a student becomes an intimate and

important unit in the community which he joins. Its members live together for some years in the same group of buildings, dine in a common hall, have a place of common worship, are united very closely in sports and various forms of social intercourse, submit to the same discipline, are all concerned in maintaining the tone and prestige of their own College in comparison with others around it. Indeed, its *esprit de corps*, the closeness of the bond that binds the members together, is no bad index to the healthy condition of an Oxford College and the influence that it exercises. In a community so constituted care is naturally taken to know as much as possible of the antecedents and character of those who apply for entrance. The close connection of the University with the greater and smaller secondary schools of the United Kingdom makes it comparatively easy to get this knowledge about home students. It is not so easy in the case of students drawn from distant parts of the world, and almost the only hesitation felt by the Colleges was in this regard. They pointed out that when compelled to rusticate, expel, or otherwise discipline home students who proved unsatisfactory, communication with parents or guardians could easily be arranged; but in the case of Scholars coming from remote points this

would be impossible, and would greatly increase the responsibility of the Colleges. It was represented to them, however, that the conditions laid down for the election of Scholars were such as gave strong assurance that only men of character as well as ability would be selected, and it was in this expectation that all the Colleges agreed to take a certain number of men on the recommendation of the Trust. It need hardly be added that this fact imposes a grave responsibility upon the Trust itself, and on the men who accept the Scholarships. The very few cases in which elected Scholars have failed to realize the expectations formed about them in point of character have been the only painful feature connected with the work of administration.

Under the arrangements finally made the larger Colleges are to receive four or five a year, and as a rule the number in others is proportionate to the size of the College. This plan falls in with the wishes of Mr. Rhodes, who wisely desired that his Scholars should be distributed among all the Colleges of the University. As their accommodations are strictly limited, and as the pressure upon the University increases year by year, most Colleges having their entry list for each October filled up months beforehand, the willingness to receive and provide for a

steady inflow of Rhodes men is a thing for which the Trust and Scholars alike have reason to be grateful.

The conditions of entrance vary somewhat in the different Colleges. In their ordinary practice the great majority of them prefer that applicants shall at or before entrance pass Responsions,[1] the name given to the first public examination of the University. Other Colleges allow students to postpone this examination till some time has been spent in residence. All dismiss men who cannot pass it within a reasonable period. A few refuse students who are not qualified and willing to read for honours in one or more of the main subjects of university study. Others are content to receive men working for the comparatively easily gained pass degree.

After consultation on these points it was agreed between the Colleges and the Trust that the ability to pass Responsions should be the usual minimum qualification for all candidates for the Scholarships, temporary allowance being made for a few communities where the opportunities for education were not yet sufficiently advanced. Arrangements were made by which the University should conduct an examination equivalent to Responsions in behalf of the Trust in any or all of the communities from which Scholars are drawn. It is now held regularly in two years out

[1] Appendix C.

of three in every State of the American Union, and annually in some of the smaller Colonies which have no alternative means of obtaining the recognition of Oxford University.

For a large proportion of the Colonial Scholars there is such an alternative. Under what is known as the Colonial Universities' Statute it is open to any university or college within the Empire to apply to the University of Oxford for admission to the privileges of this Statute. The University examines the courses of study and standards of the institution making the application, and if they are considered satisfactory, places it by special decree upon the accepted list. The chief privilege thus conferred is that students who have taken a full course for two years at an accepted university are excused from Responsions. Most Colonial universities have applied for and been admitted to the privileges of this Statute, and consequently their students are eligible for a Scholarship without further examination. In Colonies which have no college or university thus accepted, candidates are required to pass Responsions as a first condition of eligibility. A very few temporary exceptions have been made to this rule.

The case of Scholars from the United States presented greater difficulties. By what is known as the

Foreign Universities' Statute, Oxford offers similar privileges to universities outside the Empire. A few of the leading American universities have been placed on the accepted list. But the number of university or collegiate institutions in the United States is so great, and their courses and standards are so various, that it has proved impossible to apply the system generally. Candidates for Rhodes Scholarships are therefore required in every case to pass the usual Responsions test of the University.

Although the Responsions test is the only one applied directly by the Trust, it must be carefully borne in mind that this is merely a minimum requirement. It is infinitely below the standard maintained by all the Colleges of Oxford in the competition for their ordinary scholarships of eighty or one hundred pounds per annum. It furnishes no sufficient grounds for comparison of intellectual merit in awarding the much more valuable Rhodes Scholarships. The task of making an adequate comparison between candidates is left to the local Committees of Selection. To aid them in this work candidates are required to submit to the Committees a detailed statement of their educational career at school and college. This again involves comparison by the Committees between the standards of attainment

maintained by different institutions. In order to throw complete responsibility upon the Committees of Selection the Trust leaves them free to apply any further intellectual or other tests which they may deem necessary to form an accurate judgment.

The method by which the Scholars are distributed among the various Colleges was arranged so as to give both College and Scholar some range and opportunity of choice. When a Scholar is elected he is asked to name a number of the Colleges which he would like to join in the order of his preference. When the list of Scholars-elect for the year is complete, the scholastic record, testimonials of character, and other detailed information concerning all applicants for entrance to each College is sent to it. After study of these credentials the authorities of the College select, up to the number which they feel able to accept for that year, those candidates who seem in their judgment most likely to reflect credit on their community, either by scholarship or character. The names of those not accepted are sent forward to the College of their second preference, and so on till all are placed. It will be seen that under this arrangement the past record of a Scholar begins to count at once when he seeks admission to the University, while the College authorities are led from

the first to study critically all his antecedents, and particularly the value of the credentials given by the institution from which he comes. The judgment of those who selected him is thus also submitted to a test which is continued throughout all his subsequent course.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS OF SELECTION

In the first Circular issued by the Trustees they said that "their greatest reliance in trying to carry out the ideas of Mr. Rhodes must be on the conscientious exercise of their judgment by the committees of Selection in sending to them as Scholars students of power and promise, and representative types of the manliness, culture, and character of the communities from which they come." That statement is permanently true, and will be so long as committees are used to make choice of Scholars. Complete confidence on the part of the public and especially on the part of the whole student body of each community in the impartiality and ability to discriminate of those to whom the choice is entrusted, is absolutely essential to the most successful working of the Scholarship Scheme. This ideal has not proved easy of attainment. The creation of selecting bodies which fulfil this condition has proved in some communities one of the most difficult of the tasks with which the Trust has had to deal. It has been

found impossible, also, to devise any common plan which incorporates all the suggestions of Mr. Rhodes, and which is adapted to the widely varying conditions of the seventy-four different communities from which Scholars are chosen. The circumstances of each have therefore been studied, and the instrument of selection best suited to it has been adopted, usually on the advice of its educational or public authorities. The degree of success attained has varied greatly. Under the usual methods of intellectual competition by examinations it is always comparatively easy to select the ablest scholar from a number of candidates. Under the conditions suggested by Mr. Rhodes it has not proved so easy to make sure of the selection of the man who best satisfies his ideal. The reasons for this arise in part from the nature of that ideal. Intellectual attainments are readily commensurable; qualities which represent character and powers of leadership are not.

In a great majority of cases it has been found difficult, though not always impossible, to make use of the judgment of fellow students as suggested by Mr. Rhodes. In large States or Provinces candidates come from widely separated institutions, so that the relative value of student opinion in each cannot be fairly apportioned. A Scholarship is assigned, for

instance, to the State of New York. The State has a population of more than seven millions of people. It has three universities with more than four thousand students each; more than twenty-five colleges granting degrees; some hundreds of schools giving university preparation. In such circumstances selection by the aid of student opinion is manifestly impossible. Where the award is made from the candidates of a single institution, as is done by special provision of the Will in the schools of Cape Colony, and where therefore the conditions are more favourable for using the vote of fellow-students, the difficulty has taken another form. The tendency of school-boys to give a practically unanimous vote to the school hero in football or cricket has at times overridden entirely the carefully balanced estimates of faculty and principal on the other qualities taken into consideration. So unsatisfactory have been some decisions so obtained that proposals have been made by the school authorities that the allotment of marks in making choice should be placed on a different basis. Again, in very large universities, to which in some cases selection is entrusted, it is impossible to get an intelligent student verdict on the comparative qualities of individuals probably unknown to the majority of voters. The truth is that Rhodes

had in his mind selecting bodies in each community like a great English residential Public School, where masters and boys live a common life and are in a position to form a reasonable judgment about the comparative merits of all competitors. In very few of the communities to which Scholarships are assigned do such institutions exist; in none except in Cape Colony do they form the whole body from which selection must be made.

Where a single university represents the higher educational interests of a State or Province, as in most of the Australian, and a few American States, the use of the university in making selection has proved as satisfactory as any. A faculty, familiar with its whole body of students and with the character and career of each candidate, may usually be trusted to select its best possible representative. In several cases impartial lay assistance, such as that of a Governor, Chief Justice or Judge, where these are not elective, and so not open to political or party bias, is used with advantage. Where all the candidates come from a single university of moderate size, the suggestions of Mr. Rhodes can also be most easily carried out.

Even where higher education in a large community is distributed among two or three leading insti-

tutions it has been found possible in a few cases to employ this method with advantage, by allowing these institutions to appoint in a carefully arranged rotation, which takes into account their relative size and influence. This plan has its most general application in the universities of Canada. But even there this method of selection must still be regarded as on its trial. The main objection to it lies in the fact that for any given year the competition is not open to all the ablest available candidates in the whole Province or State, and the best man sometimes finds himself ruled out. On the other hand, the inclination to appoint by rotation without exclusive reference to merit, as a compromise to satisfy rival institutions and local interests has proved in some communities one of the greatest hindrances to success, and an evil difficult to overcome.

The problem of devising a satisfactory system generally applicable for the election of Scholars has presented greater difficulties in the United States than elsewhere. The reasons for this are various. For one thing, the forty-eight States and Territories to which the Scholarships are assigned differ greatly in the degree and completeness of their educational organization. In a few States the universities can stand comparison in endowment, equipment, number

of students or professors, and range of intellectual interest with the best of the Old World: in others an agricultural college or technical institution is only beginning to be developed into a state university with broader teaching aims. In some an admirable system of elementary schools leads up to the university; in others it is still difficult to get the thorough preliminary training necessary for real university work.

A further complication is introduced by the extraordinary number of collegiate and university institutions which have the power to grant degrees, and do this on standards and courses so various as almost to defy reliable comparison between the scholars they turn out. There are States where no less than thirty or forty duly authorized corporations have this right: in others, higher education is represented by a single college or university.

Rivalry, again, between numerous competing institutions in a State is often exceptionally keen. Sometimes it is between a group of colleges under different denominational control; sometimes between those created by private endowment; sometimes between both of these classes and a central institution supported by the State. Instances where each of these conditions influence strongly the edu-

cational situation will at once occur to those who are familiar with the different States.

As the expert members of the Committees of Selection must usually be drawn from these competing institutions, a severe strain is put upon their impartiality of judgment, and doubts have sometimes been forced upon the Trust as to whether it is always possible for the teachers of strongly rival institutions to act in conjunction with unbiassed minds.

On the other hand, the very fact that a thoroughly friendly relation exists between all the institutions of a State sometimes proves a hindrance to that impartial distribution of Scholarships on grounds of merit only, which is essential to the full success of the scheme. An American friend, widely familiar with the higher education of the country, has coined the phrase "inter-institutional courtesy" to express this peculiar form of difficulty. A committee which in this courteous spirit gives different institutions their "turn" in the enjoyment of the Scholarship no doubt promotes friendly feeling, but it does gross injustice to the individual candidate who builds his hopes on impartial competition, and also to the objects of the Trust. The slightest indication that a Committee of Selection follows a policy

of this kind at once checks competition, since candidates will not apply from other institutions than that which is supposed to have its "turn" for the year.

Once more, in a few states, the development of higher education is still largely under political control, and is subject to political influences. In one case a State election swept away, as the result of a party victory, the whole Committee of Selection, consisting of the leading educational men of the State. Under such circumstances, the only course open to the Trust was to take the selection of the Scholars into its own hands until the conditions were radically changed.

In one or two states the experiment has been tried, and so far with excellent results, of calling in expert educational advice from outside the state in order to make the selection of scholars. This method of securing absolute impartiality seems worthy of careful consideration.

Another set of circumstances increases the difficulty of making selections. A Scholarship is assigned to each State of the American Union. Among these States there is a frequent interchange of students. In the East where groups of universities or colleges lie within a narrow radius — for instance,

Yale, Harvard, and Columbia, or Princeton, Pennsylvania, and Johns Hopkins — State boundaries or State considerations have little influence in deciding the choice of the place of education. The same is true in parts of the West. Again, numbers of men in the Western or Southern States prefer that their sons shall receive the whole or a part of their university education in the Eastern colleges in which they themselves have been educated, or with which they are familiar. Many Eastern students take advantage of the opportunities offered in special directions by the great universities of the Middle West or Pacific States. Often it is the most enterprising and energetic students who thus diverge from the ordinary local routine of education. Shall they for this reason be disqualified from representing as Rhodes Scholars the community of their birth or domicile?

The Trustees think that they should not be so penalized. They have therefore made a rule that a candidate shall be free to offer himself either for the community in which he has received any large part of his education, or for the community in which he has his ordinary domicile. This regulation met with approval at all the old or large university centres, accustomed to deal with students drawn from every

part of the Union. There are other communities where State or Provincial feeling is so strong that students who leave their own States to get education elsewhere seem convinced that they have little chance, whatever their ability or other qualifications, of getting a Scholarship awarded to them by a local committee. In some of the Middle and Western States of America I was urged to make both domicile and education within the State conditions of eligibility. Such a course would have greatly limited the field of competition, since it would have disqualified all those who pursue their university studies outside their own State, often, as I have said, among the most desirable candidates. The general result would undoubtedly be to lower the quality of the American representation at Oxford. I can only hope that the deliberate decision of the Trustees, made after careful consideration of all the circumstances, will induce all committees to give equal consideration to every candidate who comes within the regulation.

Certain well-defined conditions have made it difficult to apply in some communities the athletic tests suggested by Rhodes, if at the same time due regard is paid to other essential interests of the Scholarship Scheme. In the universities and col-

leges of the United States athletics have become a highly specialized side of student life. Instead of thousands of men taking an active part in the college sports, as is the case at Oxford and Cambridge, or the hundreds of boys with whom it is compulsory in the great English Public Schools, the interest of the games is concentrated upon a very limited number of men who compose the college teams. The pressure brought upon these teams to maintain the athletic reputation of their institutions is very great, and success is pursued with an energy very unfavourable to other work and in something closely akin to the professional spirit. I have been constantly told by educational authorities in the United States that college athletics were not favourable to the production of the all-round man whom Rhodes evidently had in his mind. In a less degree circumstances somewhat similar are met with in some of the Colonial communities.

It has seemed to the Trustees that in fairness to a constituency so wide as that covered by the Scholarship System, and where educational opportunities are so varied, only two qualifications should be insisted on for all candidates. The first is to have spent two years at some recognized degree-granting college or university; the second, ability to pass Re-

sponsions. From what has been said of the variety of institutions from which candidates are drawn it will be seen that the first qualification furnishes but little ground for just comparison of scholastic merit. Nor is the Responsions examination any adequate test of intellectual superiority. It is merely a qualifying test — the minimum on which the average Oxford College will allow a student to remain on its rolls. I have also pointed out the difficulty met with in comparing athletic and character qualifications where the competitors come from widely separated centres.

It is left for the Committees of Selection themselves to discover means by which they can compare and value the relative strength of candidates. This they should be able to do with greater fairness to candidates educated under such varying conditions than could possibly be done by a competitive examination conducted from Oxford. It is necessary to lay special stress upon this point, since I have found a tendency on the part of committees to accept as on a complete level of intellectual ability all candidates who have satisfied the two minimum conditions mentioned above.

The selection of the Scholars will always involve a good deal of patient care on the part of those who

make it. The Responsions test applied by the Trust merely shows that the student will not be rejected by the Oxford Colleges. If a careful study of the school and college career of candidates is not sufficient to arrive at an adequate comparison of merit, committees are free to apply to candidates any further educational or other test that they deem necessary. In its operation at Oxford the Scholarship Scheme will apply a singularly penetrating test, not only to the ability and character of Scholars, but to the judgment of those who select them. As the Committees of Selection embrace a large proportion of the most prominent educational men in English-speaking countries abroad, this test of judgment will be curiously far-reaching.

Scholars are selected in large measure on evidence that they possess force of character and powers of leadership as well as intellectual ability. This evidence must usually be obtained from the record of their school and college career. There are few places where these qualities are more likely to be developed or are put to a severer test than in a great English university. Oxford, like any other university centre, offers temptations to idleness, extravagance, dissipation, and to absorption in the frivolities of life, as compared with its earnest purposes. On the

other hand, as its long history has shown, it furnishes the most splendid field for the exercise of strong personal influence, for the development of keen intellectual life, for the kindling of religious and moral fervour, for the spread of social, political, or even artistic enthusiasms.

If really endowed with the qualities which Rhodes aimed at securing, if really possessing the virility of the new communities and continents from which they come, a body of students such as that which this scheme draws to Oxford should prove a pervading and powerful influence in university life. If they fail to do so the scheme so far falls short of its possibilities, and the responsibility for failure must be apportioned between the Scholars themselves and those who are entrusted with the business of selection.

In every community in which I have had to organize a Committee of Selection I have in my conferences made but one demand; that it should be so constituted that every youth in the State or Province as well as the public generally should have the conviction that merit alone can secure an election at its hands, and no man should accept a place on these committees unless he is prepared to spend time and take considerable trouble in forming a careful as well

as conscientious judgment on the comparative merits of candidates.[1]

[1] By the Will of Rhodes, the selection of the German Scholars was left entirely to His Majesty the German Emperor. Persons desiring to be candidates should address their applications to: —

S.H.
Herrn Ministerialdirector
Dr. Schmidt,
Ministerium der Unterrichts-Angelegenheiten,
Berlin, W. 8.

CHAPTER V

AGE LIMITS AND COLLEGIATE STANDING

In determining the conditions on which the Scholarships should be awarded, no questions have been more fully discussed at the conferences held in various parts of the world than those relating to the school or collegiate standing that should be exacted of candidates, and the limits of age within which they shall be eligible. On both points divergent opinions have been held by sincere thinkers equally anxious for the success of the scheme. The Will of Mr. Rhodes makes it clear that he had in his mind, as the field from which his Scholars would be drawn, large secondary schools like the great Public Schools of England. Another circumstance indicates a similar direction of his thought. Previous to the settlement of his final plans he established a Scholarship for the Secondary Collegiate School in his own parish of Rondebosch, near Cape Town. Warned at the time by the Headmaster of this school that he was planning to send his Scholars at an age too early to gain full advantage from a course at Oxford, he asked

that his proposal should be carried out at any rate as a "trial trip." But he had an open mind on the question. In a letter dealing with this Scholarship, written about a month before he died to the Archbishop of Cape Town, he says: —

> I am thankful to you for undertaking the experiment, which is a Scholarship for a combination of mental, moral and physical qualities. Who knows, it may be the grain of mustard seed which produces the largest tree? [He adds:] We must watch carefully and improve as we gain experience.

He died too soon to learn anything definite from the result of this experiment. It has therefore been necessary for his Trustees to consider and decide the question on its merits. To assist their judgment the greatest trouble was taken to secure the best educational opinion. In the course of the numerous conferences which have taken place, it was urged, by those who favoured selection from secondary schools, that to send any but Scholars of about the same age and standing as ordinary Oxford undergraduates would be a violation of the terms and spirit of the Will. It was argued that older men would not readily adapt themselves to undergraduate life; that the best Colonial and American students, eager as they generally are to begin their professional career,

would not come at all if they could not come directly from school, and at an early age; that Mr. Rhodes wished to get his scholars at the most impressionable period of life, and that on older men the moulding influence of Oxford would be comparatively lost. In spite of these arguments, however, there was in the end at all the conferences a very general, though not universal, agreement of opinion that the Scholars should be selected, as far as practicable, from colleges or universities, rather than from secondary schools, and the Trustees finally decided that by following this course the Scholarship System would probably be made most effective, and would best attain the objects that Rhodes had in view.

The main arguments leading to this important decision may be briefly summarized. It was held: —

(*a*) That considerable maturity of mind and character is required in students who come from remote countries to spend the whole of their Oxford course and its vacations entirely separated from home influences, and that parents would object to sending their sons at too early an age so far from their home base for a series of years.

(*b*) That the chance of Scholars returning to be men of weight and influence in their own countries, as

Rhodes evidently desired, would be greatly lessened, if by going to Oxford directly from school, they should thus be cut off from all the associations and knowledge of, or sympathy with, the university life of their country, usually so important an element in professional or political success.

(*c*) That the secondary school in the Colonies and the United States usually sends on boys to the university at an earlier age than the great Public Schools of England, so that a scholar with two years' university standing would not differ greatly in age from the average English Matriculant; moreover it seldom trains them to the same level of scholarship, so that Scholars elected from school could not reap the highest advantages from a university like that of Oxford, and in competition with their fellow students would be at a great disadvantage.

(*d*) That in the schools of the Colonies and America (chiefly day schools) there is not the same opportunity of testing moral and athletic qualifications as in English Public Schools (chiefly residential), and that it would prove impossible to select from these schools on the basis indicated by Rhodes, while such a choice becomes more easily practicable when university life is reached.

(*e*) That it is necessary to keep in view the hope, expressed by Rhodes in regard to his American Scholars, that while his Bequest encouraged in them an attachment to the Motherland from which they sprang, it should not withdraw them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth. It was felt that this hope would have a better chance of fulfilment in the case of young men who had passed beyond their school stage and had got more closely in touch with the higher life and aspirations of their own country. Besides a more advanced type of student would better represent at Oxford the spirit of his own land, and thus make the interchange of ideas more useful to all.

It was chiefly these considerations which led the Trustees to make two years at some degree-granting college or university a condition of eligibility in most communities where such institutions exist. On the question of the collegiate standing that should be required of American Rhodes Scholars the following opinion, made weighty by the wide experience of the speaker, was given by the late Dr. W. T. Harris, so long United States Commissioner of Education, in an address before the National Association of School Superintendents at Cincinnati: —

I have found myself obliged to come to the conclusion that any and every attempt to fill the proposed Scholarships from graduates of our secondary schools, or indeed even from college students of attainments below the degree of Bachelor of Arts, will fail to realize the expressed wishes of the Testator. In the first place there is not a sufficient maturity of mind on the part of the graduates of our secondary schools to profit by the opportunities of Oxford, nor is there any considerable degree of maturity until entrance upon the third year of the American college or university.

At the conference held at Harvard University to discuss the conditions of eligibility and methods of selection for the New England States, it was agreed, on the suggestion of President Eliot, that Massachusetts should be allowed to make appointments from the secondary schools. The opinion of the Headmasters of these schools was opposed to this suggestion, and though the permission was given, it has never been acted upon. With this single exception, it was the unanimous wish of all the States of the Union that at least two years of college or university life should be a condition of eligibility for all American candidates.

Canadian opinion was also practically unanimous in the same sense. In Australia and New Zealand opinion was more divided, but with a distinct ma-

jority inclining towards the selection of university students.

A crucial test of the question arose in connection with the award of the Scholarships in Cape Colony. By the Bequest they were in that Province definitely assigned to the four leading secondary schools. But these schools have been gradually compelled, by the teaching of experience and in order to maintain their credit at the University, to require that their elected Scholars shall pass one, two, or three years at advanced work before taking up their Scholarships and going into residence at Oxford. As the result of similar experience the Trustees have decided that in all other parts of South Africa candidates will hereafter be required to pass the Intermediate Examination of the Cape University.

There are still three or four of the smaller Colonies where opportunities for college work do not exist, and in these, candidates coming directly from secondary schools are for the present accepted. In most cases they carry on their work as Scholars at a considerable disadvantage. An Oxford course, with its rigid examination tests, must necessarily involve much anxiety to a man who comes to it badly prepared, and especially one holding a large scholarship, of whom a good deal is expected. Some of the great-

est advantages of university life are lost to a student constantly harassed by extreme examination anxieties.

Among the Rhodes Scholars themselves who have hitherto come to Oxford there is a practical agreement of opinion that at least two years of home university work before taking the Scholarship is required to place them on anything like equal terms with the better class of students who come from great Public Schools like Winchester, Eton, and Rugby. This is found to be true not merely in classics, but in all the various courses open at the University. The examination results from year to year confirm this opinion. Of the several hundreds of Rhodes Scholars who have already passed through Oxford it is safe to say that there has not been one, even though he might previously have had a university degree, who has not had to work hard throughout his course to gain the higher honours that Oxford has to give.

The eligible limits of age were fixed for most communities between nineteen and twenty-five. Temporary exceptions were made in a few cases to meet peculiar local circumstances, but this regulation will gradually be made applicable to all. Surprise has been expressed at the upper limit of eligible age

being fixed so high as twenty-five years. The decision, intended to meet exceptional cases only, was based on the well-known fact that in new countries many men, to whom opportunities of study are denied at an early age, make up their deficiencies at a later stage. It was felt that such men, often the strongest in mind and character, should not be shut out from the opportunities created by the Bequest. It will be remembered that the Oxford career of Rhodes himself began at the age of twenty, and did not close till he was twenty-eight.

Within the limits fixed, Committees of Selection are free to make their choice. In the actual working of the scheme at Oxford there have been occasional instances where the older type of man seems to have had difficulty in adapting himself readily to the undergraduate life of the University. Men who are not prepared to do this should not accept the Scholarship. On the other hand, there have been difficulties and even failures evidently arising from the youth and inexperience of Scholars. Committees of Selection must decide from the personality of candidates which risk is the greater.

CHAPTER VI

THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

By F. J. Wylie

I WISH in this chapter to give some idea, however rough, of the University system as it exists at Oxford, and, in particular, of the ways in which it may affect the student from elsewhere.

The feature in that system which will first arrest his attention — so much we may safely predict — and to which he will soonest have to adjust himself, will be the place occupied in it by the Colleges. Oxford is a University: but a University of Colleges. Not merely a University *and* Colleges: rather, a University *of* Colleges.

The newcomer cannot too quickly appreciate what this means. Should he start by contrasting University and College, and look for the University only in that which is not the Colleges, then he will be apt to conclude, at least on his earlier experiences, that the University counts for very little, the Colleges for very much. For it will be to the College, and not to the University, that he will in the first

instance apply for admission: it will be the College that receives him on arrival, exacts his fees, discusses his plans, arranges his lectures, and generally assigns him his place in the academic society. Some days later, no doubt, the University, in the person of the Vice-Chancellor, will summon him to her presence and formally admit him to membership, offering him, as token of that membership, a copy of her Statutes. This ceremony over, however, the University withdraws. The College resumes control. Ceremony and Statutes are promptly forgotten. There will be moments, of course, when the Freshman will be reminded of the fact that there is a University as distinct from the Colleges. He may attend the lectures of a University Professor, or work in one of the University Laboratories; he may watch a University Football Match, or listen to a University Sermon; he may find his way to the University Library, or come under the notice of the University Proctors. Normally, however, it will be in the College rather than in the University — if we are going to contrast these — that his activities will find their exercise. The College will seem to have crowded the University out.

And yet, after all, this bare distinction of University from Colleges is but half of a truth: of which

the other half is that the Colleges, while they do not exhaust the University, yet *are* the University. It may be natural to contrast the two; even to regard them as, from some points of view, rivals. But in the long run it is at least as true, as it certainly is more fruitful, to think of the Colleges, not as competing with the University, but rather as the organs of its life, in and through which its influence is brought to bear on the individuals that share in that life. This at any rate will be no useless thought with which to inspire a Freshman — a Freshman above all who comes from some other and different university — that here at Oxford the University will touch him, primarily though not exclusively, as a College; and that he will enter best into his membership of the University by being, first and foremost and all the time, a genuine and effective member of his College.

It has been already said that it is the College, and not the University, that concerns itself with the Freshman on his arrival: with him and with his scheme of work. This is true, in the sense that he is handed over to a tutor who is an officer of the College, and not of the University. But it is also misleading, at any rate to one who is unfamiliar with Oxford conditions. For in point of fact it is by

the College tutors that Oxford teaching is largely — one might almost say mainly — carried on: by men, that is, who are appointed, controlled, paid, not by the University, but by some College. They may not hold the title of Professor, Associate-Professor, or even Assistant-Professor, but they are doing University work notwithstanding: and to all intents and purposes are University teachers.

However that may be, the Rhodes Scholar Freshman must be prepared to find that, in the matter of tutorial supervision and instruction, the University exists for him normally in the person of a "Don" of his own College.

With lectures it is different. He can attend them anywhere. It may very well happen, for example, that an undergraduate of Magdalen is in any given term attending no lectures at all in his own College, but may be going to Balliol for one course, to Merton for another, and to New College, perhaps, for a third. There is, in fact, complete free trade so far as lectures are concerned; and in this respect the Oxford undergraduate is at least as unhampered as the student of the normal university of the British Colonies, or of the United States. He can "sit under" whatever lecturer he may fancy.

On the tutorial side of his work, however, he will

find himself limited by the conditions of his College. He will be in the hands of the tutor provided by the College for the subject which he may be reading. If the College is a large one, and the subject popular, there may be more than one tutor in the subject; in which case the student will do his work partly with one and partly with the other. Or again, there may be a certain measure of co-operation between tutors of different Colleges. The Theological Tutor of Wadham, let us say, may be specially interested in Old Testament and Hebrew, and less interested in New Testament and Doctrine: while the Theological Tutor of, say, Queen's may be a specialist in the latter subjects, but not in the former. By agreement between themselves, they may effect such an interchange of pupils as may secure that each is mainly occupied in teaching those branches of his subject to which he has devoted the most attention. Such co-operation already to some extent exists, and can only become more common in the future.

It remains, notwithstanding, true that tutorial instruction is essentially a *College* concern. This does not mean that any College has among its "Fellows" — that is, on its governing body, or "faculty," in the American sense of the word — a tutor for every

one of the numerous subjects which in these days find a place in the University curriculum. That is no longer possible. In the first half of the nineteenth century the subjects demanded for the Oxford Bachelor of Arts degree were still so few that it was possible for each College to be, for teaching purposes, an independent unit. And along with this instructional independence went much isolation of standards and ideals. The second half of the nineteenth century, however, brought with it a widening of the whole range of studies. Whereas less than a hundred years ago there were only two Final Honour Schools in the University, viz: Literæ Humaniores and Mathematics, to-day there are, in addition to the original two, the following: Modern History, Jurisprudence, Theology, Natural Science (which includes as *separate* Schools, Chemistry, Geology, Botany, Zoölogy, Animal Physiology, Physics, Astronomy, Engineering), Oriental Languages, Modern Languages, English Language and Literature. This wide extension of the subjects taught has broken in on the completeness and independence of the Colleges. In which process there has been involved, probably, both loss and gain. Under modern conditions the influence which a College exerts upon its members, and the grip which it has upon

them, may be less direct and distinctive than of old: but, on the other hand, the intellectual outlook for the student is wider, and the general efficiency of the teaching body, presumably, greater.

And one consequence of the change that has taken place is that Colleges can no longer from their own "Fellows" provide instruction in all the subjects that their undergraduates wish to study. This, however, does not, in theory, modify the responsibility of each College for the tuition of its members. Such difficulty as may arise is solved by the College employing someone from outside its own body to act as tutor in any subject that may not fall within the competence of one of the Fellows. Anyone so employed becomes, for longer or shorter period as the case may be, a lecturer on the staff of that College, and responsible to it for such pupils as may be sent to him for instruction. And to him, normally, all students from that College will go who may be reading the subject which he is employed to teach. That at once raises a point on which something may profitably be said. It happens now and again that an undergraduate at some period of his course feels dissatisfied with the tutor in whose hands he may find himself. It does not appear that in this respect Rhodes Scholars differ much

from other undergraduates. The fact is that, just as the food at some other hotel has a way of tasting fresher and more interesting than the food at one's own, so is the tutor of another College apt to appear, at a distance, more attractive, or more stimulating, than the tutor of one's own. And the question presents itself whether a tutor cannot be changed as easily as an hotel. To that question the answer is short and simple: He cannot. The whole system is against it. The man who goes to Balliol or Brasenose will, normally, have a tutor appointed by Balliol or Brasenose; and even though he may be persuaded that someone at Corpus (shall we say?) would suit him better, he will not be able to effect an exchange. Whether or no we are to regard this as a drawback in the College system, we must at least accept it as characteristic of it. The College-appointed tutor is a stern necessity.

What, then, is this tutor? To what extent does he control the work of his pupil? Before we answer that question, it seems, if not necessary, at least desirable, that we should explain a distinction which counts for much in the Oxford system — for more, perhaps, there than elsewhere — that, namely, between Honour work and Pass work. If, for example, we examine the curriculum of any ordinary Ameri-

can college, we find a number of courses advertised, of which some may be "prescribed" and others "elective"; of which, again, some may be more elementary and others more advanced. But we do not find a hard-and-fast line drawn between Honour courses and Pass courses, or between "Honour men" and "Pass men." There are, no doubt, differences in the systems prevailing at different colleges; but it would, I suppose, be true to say that, as a general rule and in spite of some recent changes, the distinction between the Honour man and the Pass man is found, under the American system, not in the courses they pursue, but in the gradings they obtain. They work, that is, side by side; and are only differentiated at the end.

At Oxford things are different. There the division, for academic purposes, between Honour and Pass students is primary and radical. The first question which any Oxford Freshman has to settle is precisely this — Shall he read for Honours? On his answer to that question will depend the character of all his subsequent work. For the Honour man divides from the Pass man almost, if not quite, from the beginning. He goes to different lectures, he reads different books, and he takes different examinations. It is scarcely too much to say that his

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work differs, not in range merely, but actually in spirit and method.

Now there are in this both advantages and disadvantages. It will not, however, be necessary here to do more than point out, in the first place, that the elimination of the weaker and less ambitious students does at least mean that the work of the rest, that is of the Honour men, can be maintained at a higher level than would be possible if no such distinction existed; and, secondly, that the question whether a Rhodes Scholar should read for Honours or for a Pass is one that may almost be said to answer itself. No man should be elected to such a Scholarship who is not up to Honours standard. Nor is it anything but waste of time for a man who has been to a university elsewhere to come to Oxford merely for the Pass Degree. As a matter of fact, in nine years, and out of some five hundred scholars, there has been, apart from illness, only one case in which nothing more than a Pass Degree was aimed at. The "Pass Schools," then, need detain us no longer. They serve a useful purpose. Only, it does not happen to be ours.

Now "reading for Honours" may of itself mean more than one thing. Most obviously, however, and commonly, it means reading for some one of

the various "Final Honour Schools," which serve as avenues to the B.A. Degree. That is what it means normally to the Englishman; and that is what it has meant to the great majority of Rhodes Scholars. But that brings us face to face with a difficulty. The American or Colonial graduate is inclined at first to resent the suggestion that he should read for an Oxford B.A. He feels that he has not come thousands of miles just to "go over the old ground"; but to get something new in the way of studies, and, incidentally, to carry away something new in the way of degrees. He even suspects that it may not be altogether consistent with loyalty to the degree which his old university gave him that he should be a candidate for an apparently similar degree elsewhere.

It is no use making light of these entirely natural anxieties. We must try to remove the ground for them. And from that point of view it is important to lay the emphasis on this — that the Oxford Honour Schools do not really correspond to the ordinary A.B. courses in an American college, or to those of most Colonial universities. They are much more specialized. No doubt traditionally an Oxford B.A. Degree represents a *general* education. Something indeed of this general character survives in the Pass

Schools. But the Honour Schools are not, in the ordinary sense of the word, "general" at all; and it is merely misleading to think of them as such. They stand for special study. Not for study which is professional or technical; but certainly for study which is special. They are founded on the idea — however far in practice thay may fall short of it — that grasp of one subject has a higher educational value than a more superficial knowledge of several. They emphasize the training of the mind rather than the accumulation of information.

For details as to the different Honour Schools, and the subjects which they comprise, the reader may be referred to the Oxford University Hand Book, published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. We must be content here to indicate, quite generally, the opportunities which these Schools offer for the pursuit of special interests.

There are, of course, first and foremost by reason of their long tradition, the Classical Schools (Honour Moderations for pure Classics, and Literæ Humaniores for Classics, Ancient History, and Philosophy). But there are in addition, as we have already seen, separate Honour Schools in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Animal Physiology, Zoölogy, Botany, Geology, Astronomy, Engineering, Jurisprudence,

Modern History, Theology, Oriental Studies, English Language and Literature, Modern Languages. As the last-named School demands a knowledge of only one modern language it may be said to represent in itself just as many separate Schools as there are languages recognized by it.

Into any one of these fields — various enough, one would say, to satisfy the most exacting — the student may throw himself. Nor is it only in his last year, or even in his last two years, that he is allowed to specialize in this way. It would not be very wide of the mark to say that he may do so from the beginning of his time. At any rate, it is in his power, if he have the ability and the industry, to dispose by the end of his first term (that is, after eight weeks' residence) of practically the only examination, after Responsions, that stands between him and the special work which he may have selected for his Final Honour School.[1] And even this intermediate examination need not carry him far outside his chosen field. A historian, for example, or a lawyer, can clear the way to the Honour School of Modern History, or of Jurisprudence, by passing an intermediate examination which consists mainly

[1] It may be assumed that he has passed all parts of Responsions before coming into residence.

of Roman Law and English Constitutional History, both of which may be of positive value to him in his subsequent work. The candidate for Honours in any one branch of Natural Science can satisfy the demands of the intermediate examination by passing in the elements of one or at most two other sciences. The chemist, for example, can do this by taking a comparatively elementary examination either in Mathematics, or in Physics and Mechanics. There is the same freedom in the case of the School of Modern Languages. The student whose special language may be German is at liberty to offer French for the intermediate examination. In one way or another the preparatory work demanded of any Honour man in subjects other than those in which he has decided to specialize is reduced to a minimum; and can, in most cases, be disposed of early in his career. It ought not to be beyond the powers of a Rhodes Scholar to put it behind him before his second term of residence.[1] It seems fair, then, to say that the Honour Schools for the Oxford B.A. are, in reality, highly specialized, and not, in any ordinary sense of the word, "general" at all.

[1] In this account no mention has been made of an examination in Holy Scripture, including a small amount of Greek Testament, which all candidates for the B.A. are obliged to pass. A week's work is regarded by most undergraduates as a generous preparation for it.

Moreover, we get in them what may perhaps be described as a double process of selection. In the first place, the alternative of the Pass Schools carries off, as we have already seen, the weaker or less strenuous students; and in the second place the wide field of selection offered to Honour candidates makes it possible for a man to devote his whole energies to some subject for which his tastes, and presumably his previous education, especially dispose him. As a result, the work done in the Honour Schools reaches, on the whole, a high level.

We have no wish to exaggerate this. Considerably more than half of the whole University, probably about two-thirds, read for Honours. Out of this number it is obvious that many will be neither particularly able nor particularly strenuous. Nor can we flatter ourselves that range of option results always in a man finding some field of study in which nature has destined him to do distinguished work. At Oxford, as elsewhere, choice of subjects may be determined haphazard, or by irrelevant and unworthy considerations. We are dealing, after all, with ordinary undergraduates; and it is, no doubt, only relatively, and in some not too ambitious sense, that we can talk of their work as reaching a high level. Still, in that sense, and relatively to what would be

possible under other conditions, the work done for the Honour Schools may fairly claim to reach a high standard.

The upshot of all this is that the student who has taken, let us say, an ordinary A.B. course at a college elsewhere, and who, on coming to Oxford, reads for one of the Final Honour Schools, will not really be doing "the same old things" as he did at home. On the one hand, there will be many subjects which he studied there — in which, at any rate, he "took courses" — which he will not touch at Oxford. And on the other hand, whatever the subject may be which he selects for study at Oxford, — be it Modern History, or Chemistry, or English Literature, or what you will, — he will be able to pursue it with a concentration which would be simply impossible if the subject were only one out of many. He will be courting disappointment if, on the strength of a B.A. degree earned elsewhere, he underrate the demands which the Honour Schools will make either on his ability or on his knowledge. That, perhaps, is what we may answer to the man who, quite properly and sincerely, hesitates about reading a second time for a B.A. Degree.

It is, indeed, the general experience of the Rhodes Scholars of the past seven or eight years that for

most of those who come to us with these Scholarships the Honour Schools provide the kind of work and training required. I say "for *most*" deliberately. There are, of course, exceptions. Some of our Scholars are competent, when they come, to begin genuine research work. These find their opportunity elsewhere than in the Honour Schools. They do not, however, form a large class. As a rule a Rhodes Scholar has only just completed the normal B.A. course when he comes to Oxford. He has had, it may very well be, an excellent general education. But he is far from having mastered (however modestly we may interpret that word) any one subject. The Honour Schools will carry him just one step forward. If he look to teaching as his profession, they will serve to bridge the interval that yawns between the normal A.B. curriculum, with its slightness and its generality, and the extreme, not to say the excessive, specialization which is everywhere demanded of candidates for a Ph.D. Degree. If he has no intention of teaching they will offer him a training in some one field of work which, quite apart from the immediate value of the knowledge he acquires, will, if he take it fairly, deepen his sense of what scholarship, in the wider sense of that word, means, and will go some way towards making his mind his own.

We may return now to the tutor, whom we left in order to come first at some understanding of the Honour Schools. What will be the nature of his work in relation to his pupil? In the first place, he will advise him as to the lectures which it would be well for him to attend, and as to his reading, both in term and in vacation; and, in the second place, will devote on the average one hour a week to private and informal instruction.

We have already explained that the Honour student is not limited to the lectures of his own tutor or his own College, but is free to go where he will. In selecting his lectures, however, he will normally be guided by his tutor's advice. Disregard of that advice is likely to be foolish; and, if persisted in to the point of obstinacy, may even lead to trouble. There is, however, comparatively little compulsion. It is assumed, as long as possible, that an Honour man "means business"; and that he will have the sense, on the whole, to profit by such advice as experience, in the person of his tutor, may offer him. There is some give and take; but the thing works reasonably. Serious friction is exceptional.

Lectures, however, are only one side of a man's work, and that not the most important. It is the work which he does either by himself (in vacation

especially), or privately with his tutor, that really counts. The nature of the tutorial work may vary with the subject. Speaking generally, however, we may describe it as a weekly interview lasting an hour (sometimes less, sometimes more) in which first the pupil reads an essay on some prescribed subject, and then pupil and tutor together discuss, not the essay merely, but the whole subject with which the essay deals. The interview itself, in its incidental features, will not be always of the same character. Some tutors are formal, and keep their pupils severely seated at a table. Others, and they are the majority in these days, prefer to get their pupils into an arm-chair, and even offer them tobacco. This informality of procedure is not, as its critics have been heard to say, merely a sign of the degeneracy of an age in which tutors forget their dignity and pupils their manners. It is founded on a principle, and springs out of a conviction that the discussion will be valuable in proportion as the pupil can be brought to contribute to it frankly and freely himself, and that informality makes for the removal of barriers. The object of most tutors is at least as much to get their pupils to talk as to get them to listen; and no one with any experience of the situation can be in doubt as to which of these is the harder. It is easy of

course for the tutorial system to fall short of its ideal. No one knows this better than those who have tried to work it. Tutors may be indifferent or uninspiring, just as pupils may be idle or unresponsive. The system makes no claim to work miracles. It claims for itself only that it is founded on a true conception of education, as something that works through the intimate friction of mind on mind; that, at its worst, it is not more useless than other systems, but only more expensive; and that at its best it is, perhaps, somewhat richer in stimulus.

It remains to say a word as to the reading which a candidate for Honours does for and by himself. To a certain extent this is done in term; but to a larger extent, and more effectively, in vacation. The use, indeed, of vacation is so distinctive a feature of Oxford honour work as to merit a moment's consideration. In many universities a man is examined at the close of each academic year in those subjects, or portions of a subject, on which he may have been attending lectures during the year. These examinations over, he treats the subjects in which he has been examined as done with, and behind him. He goes out to a vacation which is a complete holiday — a holiday, at any rate, so far as academic work is concerned; and returns the following year to start

new subjects, and, in due course, to dispose of them in the same way.

Now whatever the merits or necessities of such a system, it is not the system that prevails at Oxford, in the Honour Schools at any rate. There a man cannot dispose of his work, in this comfortable fashion, by bits. He must carry it with him, from term to vacation, and from vacation to term; and carry it *all*. There is no part of it which he can with impunity forget, or leave by the way. The consequence is that vacation is hardly less important than term. It is, indeed, in vacation that much of a man's most valuable work is done. He is free then of lectures, and of tutors; has time, at last, for continuous thinking, for digestion. Oxford vacations are long, considerably longer than elsewhere. They occupy approximately half the year. This may be too long for the Pass man, for whom vacation is normally a holiday and nothing more; but is justified in the case of the Honour man, by the high value — educationally speaking — of the independent work which long periods of vacation make possible and encourage. The Rhodes Scholar cannot realize this too quickly or too fully. Otherwise, he will not merely fail in the end to do himself justice: but, what is more important, he will miss one of Oxford's finest lessons.

It is worth while to invite attention to this point, for the simple reason that Rhodes Scholars will be always peculiarly liable to the temptation to treat vacations as primarily occasions for travel. Now it would be absurd to deny that the opportunity of European travel is one of the attractions of a Rhodes Scholarship. It is so, and rightly. A Rhodes Scholar who does not, in the course of the tenure of his Scholarship, see something of Europe, and make himself at home in at least one language other than his own, is simply wasting his opportunity. This, however, is in no way inconsistent with the proper use of vacation from other points of view. It is just as easy, and scarcely more expensive, to carry one's books to Tours, or Grenoble, or Heidelberg, as it is to go with them to some English or Welsh seaside resort. One can work as hard and think as clearly in one place as in another. There need be no real conflict between the claims of work and of travel, if only we interpret those claims reasonably. Some care in organizing time may be required, and some resoluteness of purpose; but the goal is worth the effort.

We may end, however, upon a note of warning. There is no waste of opportunity more short-sighted than that of sacrificing to indiscriminate "globe

trotting" the continuous and unhampered work which vacation, and vacation alone, makes possible.

There is one further point on which something remains to be said before we leave the Honour Schools: and that is the thorny subject of the recognition given by Oxford for work done elsewhere. Is the graduate of a Colonial or American university expected, not merely to become once more a candidate for a Bachelor's Degree, but actually to start at the bottom? Well, it is not quite as bad as that. He gets some recognition: though seldom as much as he thinks he deserves. The history of all such recognition is recent. Twenty-five years ago it was practically unknown. The movement began, in the late eighties of the last century, with the recognition of certain Colonial universities. It was not until 1904 that similar privileges were extended to foreign students. The subject is technical, and the details will be more in place elsewhere.[1] It may, however, be desirable to summarize the results here as briefly as may be.

There are on the Statute Book two Statutes, known respectively as the Colonial Universities' Statute, and the Foreign Universities' Statute. Under these Statutes the University assigns certain privileges to two classes of students; firstly, "Junior

[1] See Appendix B.

Students," those who have completed satisfactorily *two* years work at a university elsewhere; and secondly, "Senior Students," those who have completed three years work at a university elsewhere, and have "*obtained honours*."

A student of the first class is allowed one year's "standing"; is exempt from all parts of Responsions, *except Greek;* and can take his B.A. Degree after two years' residence, provided he has obtained Honours. He is, however, obliged to pass the intermediate examination which lies between Responsions and the Final Honour Schools.

A student of the second class is allowed one year's standing; is exempt not only from all parts of Responsions, *except Greek*, but also from any intermediate examination; and can take his B.A. Degree after two years' residence, provided he have reached an Honours standard in some one of the Final Honour Schools.

It will be at once seen that the main difference between these two classes is that, while the Junior Student is obliged to pass an intermediate examination, the Senior Student is not. This difference is, no doubt, a real one. To a first and uninstructed view it may even seem alarming; and may occasion — it certainly has sometimes done so — irritation and

resentment. To the student who has been given only Junior standing, the necessity of taking the intermediate examination is apt to present itself, just at the moment, as a serious and unjustifiable burden. This is, however, an exaggeration; intelligible, and indeed excusable, in the heat of disappointment; but still an exaggeration. The cold fact is that the difference between the two standings, however real, is not, or is not necessarily, serious. The Senior student begins to read for his Final Honour Schools at once. The Junior student is in the position of having to devote his first term (for experience has shown that, with industry, it need not be more) to getting up some subjects which are themselves, in many cases at least, along the line of his subsequent work. Of course he may take more than one term; for he may be unlucky, or even idle. If so, then by so much the seriousness of the difference between Senior and Junior standing is increased. At the best, however, — a best which many Rhodes Scholars have found within their reach, — the time spent over the intermediate examination need not exceed one term. And even the time so spent is not necessarily all "lost." It would be a rough, but not unfair, summary of the situation to say that Senior standing is worth having if you are given it; but deserves few tears if you miss it.

An objection here suggests itself. Why this uncertainty as to being "given" Senior standing? Surely a Rhodes Scholar will, ordinarily, have little difficulty in showing that he has "obtained honours" in the university from which he may have come? Alas! it is not so simple as it appears. In the first place, under the Statutes named above, Oxford has to determine what "obtaining honours" shall, for Oxford purposes, mean; and, in determining the conditions under which considerable privileges may be claimed, any university may be expected to keep on the safe side. That is just what Oxford has done. And in the second place, while it has been possible to deal separately with practically all Colonial universities (they number only some thirty in all), the number of institutions in the United States which grant the A.B. Degree is so overwhelming, being something over five hundred, that it becomes a sheer impossibility to attempt to determine separately for each of them what shall, for the purposes of the Oxford Statute, constitute "obtaining honours." Oxford has, indeed, made a beginning with some few of the larger and better known universities; and will perhaps not stop there. But she can never begin to think of dealing in this detailed way with the great mass of American colleges. Even the life of a uni-

versity is too short for that. In all ordinary cases, then, an American student will have to be considered on his own individual merits. His record will be examined; some attempt will be made to gauge the standards of the institution from which he may have come; and on the data submitted, the University, acting on the recommendation of a Committee appointed for the purpose, will assign to the individual applicant such "standing" as may seem proper. To prevent misunderstanding it may not be amiss to add that Oxford theory, at any rate as revealed in Oxford practice, regards Junior standing as the normal privilege, Senior standing as the exceptional. A Rhodes Scholar, therefore, will be wise to assume that his standing will be Junior; a standing which carries with it, it will be remembered, exemption from all parts of Responsions, except Greek, but not exemption from the intermediate examination.

"Except Greek"; yes, for Oxford has, so far, remained notoriously faithful to the Greek tradition; and, fearful lest any outsider should slip in Greekless to the fold of the elect (that is, of those who hold her Bachelor of Arts Degree), has inserted a special clause in the Colonial and Foreign Universities' Statutes to the effect that any student who avails himself of the privileges offered under these Statutes,

whether his standing be Senior or Junior, shall give evidence of a "sufficient knowledge of the Greek language" before he be allowed to proceed to the B.A. Degree. This rings threateningly. Words apart, however, the reality is only modestly alarming. In the first place, the great majority of Rhodes Scholars will be already exempt from Greek, either as having at their own universities passed examinations in Greek which are accepted at Oxford as affording the required evidence, or as having passed in Greek at the Qualifying Examination instituted by the Rhodes Trustees.[1] For them the Greek clause will have no terrors. In the second place, a "sufficient knowledge of the Greek language" is interpreted as meaning "so much Greek as is demanded in Responsions." Now about Responsions Greek a hot controversy rages. Out of that controversy this much seems to emerge, that the amount of Greek knowledge demanded of candidates in that examination is not enough either (according to its defenders) to be a burden on any one, or (according to its critics) to be of the slightest use to any one. Whichever way we prefer to put it, we may at least console ourselves by reflecting that no one elected to a Rhodes Scholarship without Greek — and Greek, it must be

[1] See Chapter III, page 109.

remembered, is not a necessary condition of election to a Scholarship — need view with alarm, however much he may choose to resent, the necessity under which he will find himself of mastering, after election, sufficient Greek to satisfy the Responsions examiners. Experience has shown that six months is for that purpose an adequate allowance. Certainly no one elected to a Scholarship in January should have any difficulty in passing Responsions Greek in the following September. That is, indeed, the date by which he will be expected to pass it. It is true that the University does not demand Greek of candidates either for the so-called Research Degrees (B.Litt. and B.Sc.) or for the Advanced Law Degree (B.C.L.): but only of those who look to the B.A. That, however, is best forgotten: for it may only lead us astray. It is with the Colleges that we have to deal in the first instance; and they are in the habit of insisting that any Rhodes Scholar who may have been elected without Greek shall pass in that subject at Responsions before coming into residence. I do not say that there are no exceptions to this practice; but exceptions are rare, and carefully guarded. Beyond all question, there is only one piece of advice which it is safe to give a Greekless Rhodes Scholar; and that is, that his first visit after election be to the bookstore,

to buy a Greek grammar. With that we may perhaps dismiss the question of Greek, merely underlining two points which it may be worth while to emphasize: the first, that a Rhodes Scholarship can be won without a knowledge of Greek; and the second, that the Greek necessary to satisfy the Oxford requirements is so slight in amount that it would be ridiculous for any one, however timid a modernist, to pay it the compliment of running away from it.

We have dealt hitherto, almost exclusively, with the "Final Honour Schools" of the University — avenues, it will be remembered, all of them, however different in character, to the B.A. Degree. And in this we have been justified by the dominating position which these Schools occupy in the Oxford educational system. They do not, however, monopolize the field to-day to the extent that they did even twenty-five years ago. "Research" has now made its claim heard, at Oxford as elsewhere — though more slowly here than elsewhere, and perhaps more quietly. And the claim has been met by the institution of two research degrees, the Bachelor of Science and the Bachelor of Letters.

At most other universities these degrees, if they exist at all, are, I imagine, parallel to the Bachelor of Arts; independent work of a "research" character

being rewarded with the Ph.D., or other similar degree. At Oxford, however, the Doctorate in Letters or in Science is reserved for work which has been already published, and which, having come through that ordeal, can be regarded as "an original contribution to the advancement of learning or science." It is significant of the position which these Doctorates are intended to occupy that no Master of Arts of the University may be a candidate for either of them until the close of at least the tenth year from his matriculation. For independent work on a less ambitious scale, but still claiming the title "research," carried on under University supervision, and tested in its results by University examiners, Oxford awards the degree of B.Litt. or B.Sc. From a professional or utilitarian point of view this may be unfortunate, in so far as the world in general associates a Bachelor's Degree with something different. Oxford, however, fixed on these titles for her first research degrees; and there the thing rests. Those to whom it matters will in time come to realize that the B.Sc. and B.Litt. stand here for work similar in character and quality, if not actually in amount, to that which brings elsewhere the Ph.D.

Any student from another university may be admitted as a candidate for these degrees who is over

twenty-one years of age, and who can show, firstly, that he has received "a good general education," and, secondly, that he is competent to pursue with profit the subject proposed. If admitted, he will pursue his course of study, or research, under the general direction of a Supervisor, or Supervisors, appointed by the University. The results of his research will, normally, be embodied in a thesis, and the candidate himself orally examined in the whole field within which his subject falls. On thesis and oral examination considered together the degree will be awarded or withheld.

Now, difficult and unsatisfactory as general statements in such cases are apt to be, we may nevertheless allow ourselves two remarks in this connection. In the first place, it will be unwise for any student who may just have completed a B.A. course elsewhere to regard himself as thereby equipped for at once beginning research. That is more than unlikely. He will be better advised in most cases to start on one of the Final Honour Schools. It will be always possible for him to turn to research later in his course, should that seem advisable. And in the second place, it has to be remembered that these degrees are of recent institution, dating only from 1895, and that the teaching of the University has

hitherto been organized primarily with a view to the Final Honour Schools. Undoubtedly in many, if not in most, branches of study the advanced student will find in Oxford both material for his work and competent advisers. He must not, however, expect to find quite the same organization of graduate instruction as is to be found, for example, in some few of the larger American universities. It tends, I think, to be the Oxford theory that a student who is qualified for research is one who will be able, in the main, to work by himself; who may need advice and direction, but hardly instruction.

There is no reason to discourage any student who may be genuinely competent to do special and advanced work from coming to Oxford to do it. He will be welcome: and while his opportunities will necessarily vary with his subject, there will in most cases be work for him to do. There is, on the other hand, very good reason for advising one who has had no previous training for research to read, in the first instance at any rate, for one of the Final Honour Schools. They will give him, in the main, what he wants: and it is in them — so at least we are often told — that Oxford is most herself, and most effective. In this connection it may be interesting, and even suggestive, to note that of the Rhodes Scholars

who completed courses at Oxford between the years 1906 and 1911, two hundred and twenty-three read for a Final Honour School, and thirty-four for one or other of these research degrees.

There remains one other advanced degree which may be said to have a special interest for Rhodes Scholars; for they form a quite considerable proportion of those who take it:[1] and that is the Bachelor of Civil Law. This degree is given, not for research, but after an examination in Roman Law, Jurisprudence, English Law, and International Law. The course is at once wider and more thorough than that for the Final Honour School of Jurisprudence. The standard also in the examination is singularly high.[2] It stands unquestionably for the best training in Law which Oxford has to offer. On the other hand, it is a difficult course for those to complete successfully who have had no previous legal teaching. Moreover the Board of Faculty of Law has to satisfy itself that applicants from other universities are "well qualified to pursue such a course of advanced legal study." However

[1] In the last three years, out of twenty-eight who have taken this degree, thirteen have been Rhodes Scholars.

[2] In the last three years, out of sixty-seven who have entered for this examination only twenty-eight have passed it. In the last ten years, only five men have been put in the first class.

generous the Board may be in its interpretation of this clause, it is not inclined to admit to the B.C.L. course students whose previous training has lain entirely in other fields, at least until it has received some evidence of special aptitude for legal study. A Rhodes Scholar, therefore, in whose education hitherto law has found no place, would do well to begin with the Final Honour School of Jurisprudence. Should it appear before the end of his first year that "he is qualified to pursue a course of advanced legal study," it will be in his power to approach the Board then with an application for admission, submitting as evidence the testimony of the tutor with whom he may have been working during the year. He would be required at the same time to produce evidence of being over twenty-one years of age, and of having obtained a degree elsewhere in either "Arts, Science, or Philosophy."

It is the unanimous verdict of those Rhodes Scholars who have taken the B.C.L. course, firstly, that it is excellent, and secondly, that it is difficult. It is in fact a serious piece of work; and expects to be seriously taken.

So much for Law. What of Medicine? Well, the medical course is always, and of necessity, a long one. At Oxford a Rhodes Scholar may assume that,

in order to get the degree of B.M., he will require certainly five, and perhaps six, years — of which two will be spent in London at the hospitals. A considerable number of Rhodes Scholars from the British Colonies do actually take this degree: but, so far, no American has done so. Indeed, for them, a British medical degree would scarcely have a value that would justify the time spent in obtaining it.

There are, however, opportunities for scientific work along medical lines — especially in physiology and pathology — which will occupy three years profitably for any American who looks to medicine for his career. He can read for the Final Honour School of Physiology: or do some piece of research with a view to the B.Sc. Degree: or even (if his College sanction it) work independently without regard to any Oxford examination or degree. There will be, perhaps, more temptation for an American medical to waste his Scholarship than for any one else, in proportion as he feels that the real training for his profession is to come subsequently, and elsewhere. Just for that reason he must come in the right spirit, or not at all. But if he has any clear purpose in coming, and sufficient character to hold to his purpose, there is much that he can get by coming. The Oxford Medical School is a small one. I believe that

its standards, and even its opportunities on the scientific side, would bear comparison with those of many larger Schools.

In addition to the degrees which we have so far had under consideration the University gives also diplomas, after examination, in a certain number of subjects for which no special provision has been made in the Honour Schools. In connection with the diploma, and leading up to the examination, there is in each case a regular course of study, designed to correspond to the work of either one year or two. Courses are arranged, and diplomas awarded, in the following subjects: Economics and Political Science; Geography; Anthropology; Forestry; Classical Archæology; Mining Engineering; Rural Economy; Education; Ophthalmology; Public Health.

A diploma by itself can hardly be said to represent three years' work. It may, however, profitably be combined with something else; with an Honour School, for example, or with work for the B.Sc. or B.Litt. Degrees. Two Rhodes Scholars have taken the Diploma in Economics and Political Science after the Honour School of Modern History; two have combined it with the B.Litt.; one has taken the Diploma in Geography after Literæ Humaniores; two others the Diploma in Anthropology along with

a B.Sc. Degree for special work in the same subject; another is combining the Diploma in Anthropology with that in Geography; while a considerable number have taken the Diploma in Forestry together with a Final Honour School, either Geology, or Botany, or Physics.

These diplomas are a modern growth; and it is still to be seen how they will articulate with the system generally. By the side of most of the Honour Schools they have, doubtless, something of the air of upstarts, if not actually of charlatans. There are not wanting those among us who shake heads over them, predicting that they will undermine the older, more comprehensive, and more exacting studies. That were, indeed, a sad issue of a sincere experiment. Perhaps, however, we may allow ourselves, without undue optimism, a larger faith in the inherent value and ultimate vitality of the Honour Schools. And in the mean time the diplomas seem to meet a want. Certainly they may often serve a useful purpose in the Rhodes Scholar's academic scheme.

Alongside of degrees and diplomas there are also University prizes and Scholarships, which tempt the more ambitious. It would be waste of time to enumerate these. It will suffice to say that they are few in number, and are the reward of excep-

tional ability. Rhodes Scholars have occasionally won them. The Ireland Scholarship, the highest distinction open to a Classical Scholar here, has in the last eight years fallen to a Rhodes Scholar once; the Vinerian Scholarship, which is the premier Law Scholarship open to undergraduates, and is of the value of eighty pounds for three years, three times; the Burdett Coutts Scholarship in Geology, which is of the value of one hundred and fifteen pounds for two years, three times; the Philip Walker Studentship in Pathology, of the value of two hundred pounds for three years, once; the Geographical Scholarship, of sixty pounds value, once; the Passmore Edwards Scholarship, awarded after an examination in Classical and Modern Literature, and of the value of thirty pounds, once.

Rhodes Scholars have also carried off an occasional University Essay Prize — as, for example, the Gladstone Prize in 1906, the Chancellor's Latin Essay in 1907, the Beit Prize, for an Essay on some subject of Colonial History, in 1908, the Robert Herbert Memorial Prize in 1910. This year, 1912, a Rhodes Scholar has won the Newdigate Prize for English Verse.

The only purpose in alluding to these distinctions is to show that there are opportunities open

to Rhodes Scholars, of any nationality, of achieving distinction along the lines of their academic studies quite aside from everyday examinations. They constitute an altogether legitimate ambition for any student of vigour and ability.

This chapter has been long and, of necessity, often technical. It is never easy to make the conditions at one university intelligible at another: and it is least of all so in the case of Oxford, whose history has stamped her with a somewhat complex individuality. It has not been possible here to attempt more than a rough sketch of some of the more obvious features of her system. Out of the attempt a few things will, it may be hoped, have emerged.

It is still often supposed that the Oxford B.A. stands for a general course. It will have been seen that, on the contrary, it stands, in its Honour Schools, for a definitely specialized course; that it does not even stand for a *literary* course, but can be obtained by way of Law or Science just as well as by way of Letters.

It is still often supposed that Oxford teaches Classics, and little else. It will have been seen that this is a mistaken notion.[1] True as it may be that the Class-

[1] In this connection it may be interesting to give the numbers of those who entered for the different Final Honour Schools this year

ics occupy at Oxford a position which they do not hold in newer lands, it is not the less true that there are few branches of learning which Oxford does not recognize and teach; and that some of these she teaches as effectively, and as exhaustively as she does the Classics. This consideration may indeed help us to deal with the not uncommon misconception that in the selection of a Rhodes Scholar it is desirable that preference should be given to a Classic. If we may look at this question from the point of view of Oxford, we may safely say that the only sound principle of selection will be to prefer the man that is the abler and the better qualified generally. And what is true from the Oxford point of view will be found, I think, to be true in the long run from other points of view as well — whether that of the Rhodes Scheme, of the institutions from which Scholars come, or of the individual Scholars themselves. Oxford wants as Rhodes Scholars men who can take their place squarely alongside of her *best* men; and neither the Rhodes Trust nor the institutions which the Scholars represent can be content with anything short of this. Now as actual con-

(1912). They were as follows: Literæ Humaniores, 147; Modern History, 197; Jurisprudence, 111; Theology, 52; Natural Science, 88; English Literature, 20; Mathematics, 25; Modern Languages, 11; Oriental Languages, 4.

ditions stand — given, that is, the relative stress laid on different subjects, and the relative standards maintained in them, at Oxford and elsewhere — this ideal will be easier of attainment in almost any other subject than it will be in Classics. Hitherto, certainly, it has been in the Schools of Law, History, and Natural Science that the Rhodes Scholars have, on the whole and with one or two brilliant exceptions, produced the best results.

Once more, it is still often supposed that Oxford concerns herself *exclusively* with undergraduate work. Even that will have been seen to be untrue. It may be true that the Final Honour Schools are Oxford's outstanding contribution to education: it is not true that they are her only contribution. There is in fact a quite considerable amount of work already done in Oxford that is "graduate" in character; that may even in some cases merit the name of research; primarily, of course, for the B.Sc. or B.Litt. Degrees; but secondarily also for diplomas; and even, to some extent, for Honour Schools.

And lastly, it is commonly supposed that Oxford shuts the academic door upon all applicants who may not be willing to submit first to an examination in Greek. It will have appeared that this, too, is not wholly true. No one, certainly, may reach

the B.A. without Greek. The B.Sc., however, the B.Litt., the B.C.L., and most of the diplomas, are within reach even of the Greekless.

By way of conclusion, we may perhaps allow ourselves to say that he will be an exceptional Rhodes Scholar who cannot find somewhere in Oxford both opportunity and inspiration.

CHAPTER VII

THE SOCIAL SIDE OF OXFORD LIFE

By F. J. Wylie

THERE are two sides to university life everywhere: the academic and the social. Of the academic side of Oxford we have spoken in the preceding chapter. It remains here to say something of the other side, the side which has nothing to do with lectures or examinations, or even with tutors as such; but rather with the ways in which a man meets his fellows in the give and take of a common life. For convenience we shall call that the social side.

To pass from the academic to the social is not, of course, to leave education behind. No one really supposes that. Indeed it is common enough at alumni gatherings the world over to hear talk which suggests something very different; which suggests, rather, that the things of value which a College gives are precisely *not* the things gathered in classrooms or from books. In this of course there is exaggeration, natural to the occasion. Nor is it always easy, across the years, to say just where influ-

ences began or ended. Still, when all allowances have been made, there remains enough of truth to make it worth our while to remind ourselves that in attempting to give some account of the social side of Oxford we shall be dealing with things which are not insignificant, either morally or intellectually, but, on the contrary, leave their mark upon a man.

We have seen already that the College is the academic unit. It is the social unit too. We at least cannot be indifferent to this. For indeed we partly owe to it the selection of Oxford as the scene and instrument of Rhodes' great experiment; as he himself tells us in his will. There were reasons why he was tempted to send his Scholars to Edinburgh University. He actually contemplated the possibility of doing so: but gave up the idea precisely because Edinburgh was not a residential university in the sense in which Oxford is. Edinburgh students live scattered through the town, out in the country even, haphazard, in lodgings, in boarding-houses, sometimes in their own families.

This non-residential type of university has merits of its own, neither few nor unimportant. But Rhodes believed in the closer influence which a college exercises. He believed, on the one side, in supervision; and he believed, on the other, in the

shoulder-rubbing peculiar to the intimate life of a small society: believed in these enough to be determined by them for Oxford and against Edinburgh. This is something of which we shall have to keep ourselves loyally in mind. Rhodes' experiment was, throughout, an experiment in influences. And the influences under which he desired his Scholars to come he seems to have associated directly with the special character of Oxford as a University *of Colleges*. This is but one aspect of Oxford, and it is far from exhausting the secret of her influence. Rhodes, of course, never supposed that it did. But it is an aspect which had a peculiar appeal for him, and in some special way inspired his faith.

A Rhodes Scholar is bound to give this faith of Rhodes its chance. This does not, of course, mean that he is bound to share that faith. He cannot mortgage his beliefs in this way. Nor does he commit himself, in accepting a Scholarship, to any special issue of the experiment. It is conceivable that he should come to Oxford, throw himself loyally into Oxford life, and go away without having acquired the special note of sympathy on which Rhodes so clearly counted. There would be failure in that, no doubt, and disappointment. It would not, however, be a failure on the part of the Scholar

to meet his responsibilities: but a failure, rather, on the part of the given influences to do what was expected of them.

On the other hand, to accept a Rhodes Scholarship, and then in Oxford to hold oneself aloof from the things which, in the eyes of Rhodes, gave to Oxford so much of its interest and significance — to make little effort, that is, to realize one's membership of the University in the only sense in which in Oxford one can honestly do that, namely: as a member of a College — this is something different; it is indeed to shirk a responsibility which one may be said plainly to have undertaken, that of giving the Scholarship its chance.

There came to me once, straight from the train, a newly arrived Rhodes Scholar. He was in haste to explain that he had had his share of college life in a university elsewhere, and was tired of it. He was, quite frankly, for reducing that side of Oxford life to its lowest terms; and, by way of a beginning, he proposed to take rooms in the town instead of residing in College. We can all understand his attitude, and even sympathize with it. But no sympathy with the individual must be allowed to obscure the fact that the man who approaches Oxford in that spirit is ill-fitted to be a Rhodes Scholar.

He is too old; not old in years necessarily, but old in temperament. Conditions of life at Oxford demand of a Rhodes Scholar — of the ideal Rhodes Scholar at any rate — a certain elasticity and freshness of outlook. This quality is by no means always a matter of years. We have had Rhodes Scholars of twenty-three, or even twenty-four, who possessed it in abundance; and we have had others of twenty who were without it.

Perhaps a word of warning may be in place here against possible misunderstandings. It is not the malleable man that we want: not the man whose convictions sit loosely, and who is at the mercy of each new influence. Character no doubt is a thing of strange and contradictory appearances; and we may often take for a sign of strength what is no more, did we but know it, than some shift of weakness to conceal itself. Still, spite of seeming contradictions, we cannot afford to sacrifice either of the two elements which go to the making of an individuality — power of sympathetic appropriation and power of consistent self-maintenance. It is not the weak man that will make the good Rhodes Scholar, but the strong man. And the strong man is, in one sense, his own centre. On the other hand, there is a sense in which we may say, just as truly, that he is not the

self-centred man. He must not be strong only with the strength of a shut mind.

To "give the Scholarship its chance" is simply to open oneself to the best that Oxford has to give. With the best on the academic side we have dealt in a previous chapter: here our concern is with the other side; and it, too, has a claim to make on any Oxford student, and on a Rhodes Scholar in a somewhat special degree.

Between the academic side and the social there may, of course, be conflict. A right adjustment of their rival claims will make demands on any man's character. There will have to be some compromise, and some effort. Normally, it is to secure for the academic side of life its proper recognition that effort is required. But it is not always so. For a stranger especially, the required effort may take another form. The Englishman's customs, traditions, manners, temperament even, will be unfamiliar to him; and he may not always find adjustment easy. There may be — indeed there are bound to be — things that irritate, wound, or discourage him: insularities (as they will certainly appear) of outlook, of manner, of etiquette.

These difficulties are initial only, and on the surface. Patience and a little humour solve them. But

it does demand an effort; and I have known Rhodes Scholars who, from native reserve, or from indolence, or possibly from some unsuspected insularity of their own, have proved unequal to the effort. Abandoning the attempt to overcome the unfamiliar, they have fallen back on books and their own compatriots. This is a loss to themselves as well as to others; and is, as I have already put it, not giving the Scholarship its chance.

And it has other effects less immediately obvious. Colleges are small and sensitive societies, jealous of their membership. It is more than desirable, it is simply essential, that Rhodes Scholars, who are dependent upon the hospitality of these societies for admission to the University at all, should not lay themselves open to criticism on the ground of failing to realize what that membership involves. "He is in the College rather than of it" — said to me once the Head of a College, speaking of a Rhodes Scholar. This is a criticism which we must set ourselves to make impossible. It must be remembered that Oxford Colleges are limited in number, and that each of them is limited in its capacity for expansion. On the other hand, the number of applicants grows. With increasing competition it will become increasingly necessary for a Rhodes Scholar to rely, in

applying for admission to a College, not upon any general sympathy Oxford may have with Rhodes' ideals, but upon his own character and record, read in the light of such experience as the College may have had of previous Rhodes Scholars. This lays upon the individual Scholar a quite definite and personal responsibility. Not for his own sake merely, but for the sake also of his successors, he must convince his College that he is a living member of their society, contributing to its life, and not merely borrowing from it. The success of the Rhodes Scheme in Oxford will depend not a little in the future on the attitude of the Colleges; and that attitude can only be a generalization from individual experiences; from experiences, that is, of individual Rhodes Scholars.

Accommodation within the College walls is limited. No College can house more than three quarters of its members, many not more than half. The result is that students can never remain in College more than three years; often not more than two. At the end of that time they go into lodgings in the town, sometimes singly, sometimes with friends. Life in lodgings is somewhat more independent than life in College, and has attractions for men who are nearing the end of their time, and who have made

their friends. It is bad for the Freshman, whose best chance of finding himself quickly lies in being, from the start, in the middle of things. The Rhodes Trustees have laid it down as one condition of the tenure of a Scholarship that, subject to the approval of the College, the holder remain in College for the first two years of the three for which his Scholarship lasts. It was felt that nothing less than this was consistent with the spirit of the Rhodes Foundation.

It might have been thought that any such rule was superfluous: that a Rhodes Scholar would be anxious to be "in College" in the fullest sense possible. With the majority that is so. Rules, however, are made for the minority; and we have always a minority who are tempted, in the course of their first year, to think that theirs is the exceptional case in which one year in College, and not two, will be the right thing.

As contributing to this state of mind any one of three considerations may predominate: a desire to economize; a desire to work harder than may be quite easy in College; and a desire to escape from the hurly-burly of College life. As to this last reason, what we have already said on the subject of a Scholar's relation to his College and to the social life of Oxford generally should make it unnecessary to

point out that this particular ground for going out of College prematurely is not one which the Trustees could possibly recognize.

The other two grounds — economy and work — merit more consideration. It is quite true that life in lodgings can be made somewhat more economical than life in College. It is not always so made, but it can be. It is also true that in lodgings it is easier to secure oneself against interruptions than it is in College. It is far from being the case that men always do work harder in lodgings, but probably they can, if they wish to. These things are true. There is, however, something else which is equally true, and for us more important: and that is, that it is possible to be both economical and industrious in College: as economical, and as industrious, as is either necessary or desirable. We need not go so far as to say that it is always easy; it is enough that it is possible.

Moreover there is in this respect a real difference between the first year and the second. A Freshman and a stranger is at a disadvantage. He knows little of the customs, standards, and expectations of the place: he is, rather inevitably, at the mercy of the Senior man's courtesies or curiosities; and he has, probably, curiosities of his own. Altogether he is not well placed for economizing either time or money.

But in his second year this is changed. He knows by this time what he need do, and what he need not. He has learnt the cost of things, and where money goes. He is, in quite a new sense, master of his own quarters, and of his own time. He can pick and choose, and organize. The problem which looked perhaps so insoluble to the Freshman, as he wondered whether his time or his money would melt the sooner, now almost solves itself.

For us a sentence sums the situation. It is the Oxford custom to reside at least two years in College. A Rhodes Scholar may not reside less.

It would take too long to attempt to describe in any detail what life in College means. A few words must suffice. Each student has a sitting-room and a bedroom to himself. The rooms are furnished; and the student either pays a rent to the College for the use of the furniture, or buys it from the previous tenant at a valuation. The latter plan may be slightly more economical in the long run, but involves an initial outlay which varies roughly from twenty-five to forty-five pounds.

Everyone has breakfast, lunch, and tea in his own rooms, and only uses the College Hall for dinner in the evening, if then. His personal living is consequently under his own control. He can be extrava-

gant or economical almost at will. In point of fact the majority of Oxford undergraduates live simply, except when entertaining. At the same time, separate living is necessarily more wasteful and costly than corporate; and, although there is less waste than there used to be, it cannot even now be said that life at Oxford is cheap. Still, within the limits set by tradition and local circumstance, the student is free to order his own life and determine his own expenditure.

There is entire freedom in the matter of alcohol and tobacco, in the sense that it is within the discretion of the student himself what he spends on these things. He is at liberty to keep wine or spirits in his own rooms. In this respect Oxford differs from many colleges in the United States, and even in the British Colonies. The use of alcohol is no offence; only the abuse of it. As this may seem to some a danger, it may be worth while to point out that every man must learn, some time, to be with alcohol and maintain his own standards; and that this lesson may be learnt at Oxford with no greater risk than elsewhere — indeed, with less risk than in universities where the disciplinary or moral side of life is less within the academic view.

If there is freedom in some directions, in others

there is restriction. It is well to face this early. To the graduate from some other university it may be irritating to find himself obliged to attend "roll call" at eight o'clock in the morning; to be in College at a given hour each evening (even though that hour may be midnight); or to have to ask permission to absent himself for a night; irritating also to be fined five shillings if the University Proctor meet him after dark without the academic dress which everyone is supposed to wear at that time of day, and which, as a matter of fact, scarcely anyone does wear; or ten shillings if the same ubiquitous official catch him playing billiards after 10 P.M. There are reasons for most things; but one can hardly be surprised if to the newly arrived Rhodes Scholar, himself perhaps a Bachelor of Arts, the reasons for these particular regulations have a way of not appearing cogent. Expecting to take rank as a graduate, he finds himself very much an undergraduate. Small annoyances of this sort, however, are "part of the game," and must be taken in the spirit of the game. So taken, they lose their sting. Only a small man will allow them to weigh in the balance.

It is not merely from the point of view of University regulations or College discipline that the Rhodes Scholar will find himself a Freshman. He

will be a Freshman also to his brother undergraduates. In their eyes his degree, should he have one, will make no difference. In all likelihood they will not even know of it. In any case, they will not consider that it affects the question. It is an accepted principle of undergraduate living that "a Fresher is a Fresher": and what makes a "Fresher" is date of matriculation, not previous history. *Socially*, there is no such thing as entering the Junior or Senior year. Nor is there any difference, *socially*, between a student doing undergraduate, and another doing graduate, work. Indeed, the Rhodes Scholar will do well to dismiss from his mind everything that he is accustomed to associate with the distinction between graduate and undergraduate departments. So far at least as any social consequences are concerned, that distinction may be said, practically, not to exist. The graduate Freshman is just one among a crowd of other Freshmen. He must expect his treatment to be the same as theirs — neither worse nor better. It is foolish to resent this. We may say of it, as we said of College rules, that it is just one of the conditions under which the game is played here, and should be accepted as such with sportsmanlike good humour.

Nor are there any actual indignities attaching to

the status of a Freshman. There is nothing at Oxford corresponding to what is known in the United States as "hazing." The attitude of the Senior man to the Freshman is purely negative. He is not hostile; only indifferent. He does not expect the Freshman to make advances; and he does not propose to go out of his way to make many himself. He is not wanting in generosity; only, his generosity is a retiring and carefully shielded generosity. His attitude is, indeed, a compound, in varying measure, of self-satisfaction, reserve, — often coming very near to diffidence, — and laziness. It betokens no ill-will: least of all ill-will to a stranger because he is a stranger.

This last point is worth a little emphasis; for Rhodes Scholars have not always seen it clearly. They have been inclined sometimes to interpret the indifference which distinguishes the Senior man as a pose adopted with the express purpose of slighting them. That is fatally to misconceive the thing. The Senior man's attitude is scarcely to be called a "pose"; it is not adopted with any "express purpose" at all; and it is not directed against individuals. It is just a spontaneous deference which he pays himself.

And if there are barriers between "Classes,"

that is, between Senior and Junior men, there are also influences at work tending all the time to level these barriers. Especially athletics. The place which games occupy in the English schools and universities is imposing. They threaten, indeed, to become an independent business, to establish claims and to profess responsibilities of their own, coördinate with those of other branches of education. They come in as servants, and it is difficult not to suspect them sometimes of wishing to be masters. But even while we are alive to the over-emphasis of athletics, we may yet claim, I think, that at Oxford they remain, on the whole, healthy. They are much in the minds of people, but not exclusively so. The "mere athlete" exists here, as everywhere; but he is not a characteristic product of the place, and his influence has its limits.

Two points may, indeed, be made in favour of Oxford athletics. The first is, that it is quite common to find among the prominent athletes of the University men of intellectual interests and scholarly ambitions. And the second is that athletics here are essentially democratic. There are twenty Colleges in the University, and each of these is an independent athletic unit with organized games of its own. Each of the twenty Colleges has several crews com-

peting in the Lent and Summer Races, some Colleges only two, others as many as five.[1] Each of them has, for the winter, at least one Rugby Football Team, Association Football Team, Hockey Team, Track Team, and possibly Golf Team; and, for the summer, at least one Cricket Team and Lawn Tennis Team.

It is characteristic, speaking generally, of the Oxford man to play a game rather than to watch one. A big University football match draws a crowd. So, sometimes, does the Final of the Inter-Collegiate Association Football Cup Ties. Considerable crowds attend the summer boat races. In the ordinary way, however, College athletics are not spectacular. It may be admitted that they lose something of excitement from this absence of a crowd. But the gain outweighs the loss — at any rate in so far as the absent crowd is itself engaged in playing a game elsewhere. It means a widespread athletic activity, an extension of games which is genuinely popular and democratic. And any such democracy of athletics makes for the levelling of social barriers.

[1] In the Lent Races of 1912, 279 undergraduates took part, and in the Summer Races, 270. A certain proportion of these 549 undergraduates took part in both races; but we should probably not be far out if we estimated the number of these who represented their colleges on the river in the year 1912 as between 400 and 425.

It is difficult for a second or third year man rowing in the same boat with a Freshman to continue unaware of him, and to maintain, in the face of the natural and engrossing interest of the crew, the artificial distinction of "years."

Moreover, it has to be remembered that, whereas in so many universities the divisions are, to some extent at least, horizontal, — that is, between different "years" or "classes," — at Oxford the most conspicuous divisions are undoubtedly perpendicular, between Colleges. An athletic competition between Freshmen and Sophomores can only make the distinction between years more emphatic: but a similar competition between Colleges will certainly tend to break it down. And at Oxford athletic contests are always between Colleges and never between years.

As tending to level distinctions, games will have a special value for the Rhodes Scholar; for nothing will bring him more smoothly or more effectively into the social life of his College.

But it must not be thought that games are the only solvent of undergraduate exclusiveness. Clubs and Societies are quite as potent. And they are bewildering in number. They exist for any and every purpose — social, literary, scientific, musical,

political, philanthropic. Every College maintains a number of them, in varying stages of vigour or decay; and there are many, besides, not confined to one College. These Clubs, or Societies as it would in many cases be more appropriate to call them, cut both ways. They cut perpendicularly across the lines which divide men of one year from men of another; and often they cut horizontally also, across the lines dividing one College from another. They are in that way doubly useful for breaking down distinctions.

At every university there are men who spread themselves over too many "student activities." In Oxford we have that kind of dissipation too. On the other hand, the machinery of the Clubs is kept within bounds: and, if College "politics" exist, they do so only mildly. The effort after office is not a feature in undergraduate life.

There are no fraternities, nor any clubs, in the sense in which clubs are understood at some universities, particularly in the United States — at Harvard, for instance, and at Princeton. The club at Oxford has, in some cases, its own rooms, where letters can be written, newspapers read, and a meal served; where also friends from different Colleges can meet. But even in its most ambitious form, it is

not a place for living, but only for meeting. And most often it has no settled habitation at all, but maintains an intermittent, and, so to say, peripatetic existence. It is, indeed, these smaller and less severely organized Societies, often no more than periodical meetings of friends in each other's rooms for the pursuit of a common interest, that are chiefly characteristic of Oxford. They come and they go, and may not seem important; but, whether they last for many years or for few, they serve a purpose while they last, and make a real contribution to the social and intellectual life of the undergraduate. They may certainly do so to the life of the Rhodes Scholar.

The mention of clubs brings to mind the fact that there exist at Oxford both a Colonial Club and an American Club. The former has an altogether simpler and less continuous existence than the latter, having indeed no permanent rooms. But the purpose of each is the same; to keep the sojourner in Oxford alive to the movement of affairs in the country from which he is an exile. These clubs have been criticized, on the ground that the object of any American or Colonial in coming to Oxford should be to get to know Englishmen, and that these Clubs, in so far as they are successful, tend to defeat that

object. This criticism has just enough of truth in it to be misleading. It may be at once admitted that the clubs can be abused. It does not follow that they need be. It seems entirely reasonable that Americans, for example — to speak only of them — should meet from time to time to discuss American topics. Three years is a long exile: and a man may well get out of touch in that time with many things at home. The American Club may just save him from that; may help him to find his bearings more quickly on his return. It may, on the other hand, become a snare; may serve as a refuge for the diffident, the unelastic, and the indolent, tempting them away from the life which it is their first duty to share. It would be too much to say that it has never been abused in this way. We must be content that it has not often been. How much or how little use a man makes of such a club, whether American, Colonial, or German, must be left ultimately to individual judgment: but to individual judgment which is inspired and reinforced by an effective public opinion. And to that public opinion each Rhodes Scholar must, by his personal conduct and attitude, inevitably contribute. Is it excess of optimism to trust the issue to his sense of what that contribution should be?

We have said something of the intellectual, the social, and the athletic sides of Oxford life. We should not wish to leave altogether untouched the religious.

The official religion of the University, if we may so speak of it, is, of course, Anglican: in the sense that the services are Anglican in the different College Chapels, as well as in the University Church. Students, however, who do not belong to the Anglican Church have ample opportunities of attending services of a different character. The Colleges show them every consideration, and attendance at Chapel is not insisted upon. Association enters so subtly into religious influences that it may be difficult, sometimes, for a student from America or the British Colonies to find in his College Chapel exactly the inspiration for which he looks. On the other hand, he may, perhaps, reflect that a College is a Society, and that of the religious life of that Society the common Chapel is the only possible organ and expression. With that in his mind it is possible that he may wish not entirely to absent himself. If that is so, he will seldom find the Anglicanism of the services so emphatic as to offend the susceptibilities of those who may not themselves be Anglican.

There remains one aspect of a Rhodes Scholar's

life on which we have barely touched, but which will certainly have its interest for him, and its problems, — the financial aspect.

Three hundred pounds a year sounds a large sum. A student who has known university conditions under which five hundred dollars proved an adequate income is in danger of regarding three times that amount as wealth. That is a serious misconception. The plain truth is that a Rhodes Scholar, with his nine hundred pounds intact, has just enough, certainly no more than enough, to carry him safely to the end of his three years. The sooner he faces this, and the more unreservedly he accepts it, the better for all concerned. Speaking roughly, we may say that he will need two hundred pounds for the academic year of six months, and one hundred pounds for the six months of vacation. And he must not delude himself into thinking that he will have opportunities of adding to his income, either in vacation or in term. The conditions of Oxford life — social conditions and conditions of study — exclude this possibility. Three hundred pounds is the limit of his income. And he will need it all. He cannot afford to start hampered by debt.

It is the first condition of the wise ordering of a Scholar's opportunities that he should be free to

make his decisions, as far as possible, without regard to financial considerations. I have known men advance unduly the date at which they took "Schools" (taking them, for example, after two years instead of three) from a desire to escape certain fees incident to a fuller preparation. I have known others plead for permission to go into lodgings before the end of their second year, solely because, having misconceived the limits to which three hundred pounds could be stretched, they had sunk themselves in debt. I have known others pay for early extravagance — sometimes for extravagance actually prior to their election to a Scholarship — by economies at a later time which, however necessary in the actual event, were not the less in themselves undesirable.

It is, after all, an integral part of Rhodes' conception that his Scholars should be under no necessity of curtailing their share in the general life of Oxford from considerations of economy. They need not do so, if they allow themselves the full Scholarship. But it must be remembered that the amount — three hundred pounds — is calculated with a view to covering expenses *from the time of arrival.* To charge it with preliminary expenses is to overtax it. As beginnings are always expensive, it will be convenient if a Scholar can arrive with a little money to

his credit. But that is not essential. If he start level, he will be able to meet his obligations. The first quarter of the year's Scholarship will be paid him at the opening of the October term, and thereafter in the first week of each term, and at the beginning of the Long Vacation.

So much depends upon the proper appreciation by a Scholar of the possibilities and limits of his Scholarship that no apology is needed for the emphasis here laid on finance.

We have spoken in this chapter of some of the opportunities which the general life of Oxford offers, and of some of its difficulties and problems. The end, however, must not be doubt and difficulty, but the confidence of attainment.

It is nine short years since, on an afternoon early in October, three young Germans, ceremonially arrayed, stood in the Lodge of an Oxford College, enquiring for the Oxford Secretary to the Rhodes Trustees. They were the first of the Scholars elected under Rhodes' Will to set foot in Oxford; the first of a succession which numbers already close on seven hundred, and which will stretch into the future, we must hope, past numbering. Nine years is as nothing in the history of so unending a venture; and to some of the questions which ob-

trude themselves only length of years can give the answer. Still, even nine years have their lessons. Certainly in any attempt to estimate the influence of Oxford on the mind and spirit of the Scholars, they give us something upon which to work.

The men who have passed through Oxford between 1903 and 1912 as Rhodes Scholars have shown wide differences of ability, of temperament, of interests, of early associations. In the face of these differences it can only be a matter of surprise how seldom Rhodes' faith has been falsified. Indeed, as I look back over the past nine years, — I may be pardoned for putting it in this personal way just because it is my personal experience of nearly seven hundred Rhodes Scholars that alone can give my words any interest, — what emerges in the retrospect, and stands conspicuous, is precisely the way in which the complex influences of Oxford, partly intellectual, partly moral, partly æsthetic, have justified the trust which Rhodes put in them. They have won men to them. I have known Scholars who had started here in a spirit of criticism, if not of hostility, come in the course of their time to an appreciation of Oxford methods and ideals, to an understanding of English character, and to a liking for individual English men, which have been none the

less genuine for being entirely consistent with that loyalty to their own country which Rhodes expressly desired them to retain.

Nor has this sentiment proved — if one may yet speak of proof — a mere phase, without power of survival. On the contrary; the letters from returned Scholars have revealed an affection for Oxford, and an appreciation of what the Scholarship has done for the writers, in widening their sympathies and enlarging their outlook on life, which have been big with encouragement.

And best of all has been the note of satisfaction at being once more at home. No issue of this Rhodes experiment can satisfy which does not, even in chastening, deepen and enrich the Scholar's affection and loyalty for his country and his home. Critics have sometimes questioned whether we could hope for such an issue. It is scarcely too much to claim that to this particular question the experience of these years already gives an answer.

The first letter I pick from a bundle says: —

> Oxford has taught me that nations are different rather than superior and inferior; and I do not find myself a worse American for the knowledge, but a better. . . . Oxford will always be to me a kind of second home, where I can count on finding friends as willing to help me as they were when I was an undergraduate.

The chances are that a German letter, or a Colonial, picked at random as this American letter was, would have sounded no other note than this. And what other note could better satisfy what Rhodes himself desired? Or more simply bring together things on which he set a value, affection for Oxford, enlargement of outlook, loyalty to home?

CHAPTER VIII

OXFORD AND THE EMPIRE — AMERICA — GERMANY

It is a striking fact that a man like Cecil Rhodes, acknowledged to be one of the exceptional and original minds of his time, of a temperament essentially practical, when his thoughts and ambitions were directed to the extension, maintenance, and perpetuation of British influence in the world, should have linked his plans for the Empire, as well as those larger plans which looked to the general good of mankind, with this ancient University. In analyzing his reasons we may make all due allowance for mere loyalty to his *alma mater* whose ordinary degree he took such extraordinary trouble to secure; whose honorary degree he reckoned among the greatest honours of his life. But beyond this he evidently thought that Oxford furnished an instrument better than any other within his knowledge for carrying forward the special purposes he had in view. On this belief he staked a large part of his fortune, and his hopes of posthumous influence. Was he right or

wrong in so thinking? If we are to reason from the influence of Oxford in the past there can scarcely be any question that he was right. The great Universities of Britain are institutions almost as important — almost as much interwoven with the life of British people — as Church, Parliament, Courts of Justice, Departments of State. From them comes a very large proportion of the men who carry on the work and determine the character of all these institutions. Among them all Oxford for centuries has held a foremost place. Sons of Oxford have been among our greatest Empire builders and Empire rulers. Its graduates fill the Halls of the Mother of free Parliaments. For time immemorial every British Cabinet has contained a considerable proportion of Oxford graduates. So, too, with the higher grades of the Civil Service. Oxford has furnished to the Empire many, perhaps most, of its ablest Viceroys. It feeds the Diplomatic Service. Its missionary bishops and clergy have gone to all parts of the world. It has been the starting-point of some of the greatest religious movements of the modern world. There is scarcely a university in the Colonies or India that has not its quota of men trained at Oxford. The tone of the place — its ideals — its merits and defects, are felt wherever the British flag flies. A mere

list of the men that Oxford has sent out even within the last few years to rule or serve in various parts of the world would of itself show how many and strong are the links that connect the University with every section of the Empire. Much of what has been said applies also to Cambridge, and I would not wish even to appear to forget the remarkable history of the sister university; the great names of Newton, Darwin, and Lister in science; of Milton, Wordsworth, Byron, Coleridge, and Tennyson in poetry, or the large lines of development that she has sketched for herself in later years. In a lesser degree it applies to other universities, English, Scottish, and Irish. Yet even while remembering this, I venture to think that the relation of Oxford to the Empire is exceptional.

What Oxford can do for her enlarged Imperial constituency is best gauged by what she has contributed to the higher life of the Empire in the past. A national university should be at once a home of learning, a place for training, and a centre of widespread influence. All these it can be claimed that Oxford has been. For some centuries she has turned out in steady sequence a remarkable succession of men "qualified," to use the words of the stately Bidding Prayer of the University, "to serve God in

Church and State." Historians, theologians, philosophers, teachers, jurists, economists, writers in verse and prose: the long list comprises the names of men who in all these departments of human effort have powerfully influenced the thought not merely of the nation but of mankind. An even more characteristic product remains to be mentioned. This is what may be described as the literary statesman — the man who combines practical ability in the management of great affairs with culture and facility in letters — who to-day is in office as Premier, Cabinet Minister, or great administrative official, and to-morrow when freed from the cares of office is the brilliant writer, perhaps on some subject far removed from his ordinary political work.

Mr. Gladstone, turning from the cares of State to write volumes on Homeric theories or ecclesiastical subtleties; Lord Salisbury, brilliant reviewer before he had entered the political arena to direct the policy of the nation; Lord Rosebery, exercising his keen intellect when out of office on Napoleonic problems, political biography, or literary appreciations; Mr. Bryce, expounding the Holy Roman Empire or the American Commonwealth; Lord Morley, filling up the intervals between governing Ireland and India with essays or biographies that

are English Classics — are widely known names which may be taken as illustrations to explain what is meant by the literary statesman. It will not be questioned that through such men the Universities have added dignity and refinement to political life in England. No other country possesses this type of public man in equal proportion; any other country would be enriched by having it. Few greater advantages could be conferred upon the different sections of the outer Empire than to train such men for their service.

The great traditions of Oxford are closely connected with an immense range of English history and of human thought and progress. Here Alfred is believed to have organized the beginnings of English academic life; here Roger Bacon started the quest for scientific truth; here William of Wykeham, Wolsey, and others founded centuries ago some of the noblest and still unrivalled educational structures in Europe, worthy homes of learning and religion, to the joint service of which they were dedicated; here Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were burned at the stake, and lighted the fire not to be extinguished in England. In these classic walks Addison meditated the Essays which have preserved his fame as a master of English prose; here

Samuel Johnson suffered the pains of early poverty, and laid the foundations of his prodigious learning; and here Blackstone wrote his commentaries. Here Ruskin gave his lectures on Art; here Newman preached the sermons which stirred a generation sunk in indifference to a new spiritual life; here Methodism had its beginning; here a splendid College foundation commemorates the Christian poetry of Keble; here was kindled in Heber the apostolic spirit which sent him as a missionary to India; and here Arnold Toynbee dreamed those dreams of social regeneration founded on social sympathy which have so deeply influenced the thought and effort of our own generation.

For students from the overseas dominions and colonies, so far as noble and historic national traditions can give inspiration, Oxford stands almost unique among English centres of life; and to those who have capacity for such inspiration it can never be disappointing. For these students it has practical advantages as well.

Throughout the Dominions and Colonies of the Empire there is little doubt or hesitation about the value for the higher purposes of life of an university training such as that placed within the reach of Rhodes Scholars. If we leave out those whose edu-

cational aims are purely scientific, probably ninety-nine students out of a hundred in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa accept these Scholarships with the feeling that they open to them one of the most desirable opportunities for higher training, and that the years spent by them at Oxford will, if well used, give them added power and prestige for the later work of life when they return to their own countries. Even students particularly devoted to science in the Colonies, especially those who take long views and are not hurried by circumstances, would regard an Oxford training as a great advantage in the general scheme of life. This is a natural result arising from the relations existing between young countries and a motherland with the social and political traditions of which they have never broken. In almost every walk of life in the great Dominions English experience counts. The Canadian or Australian finds himself called upon to carry into effect principles and methods of government practically the same as those of Britain. The conferences on national affairs to which he is now at regular intervals summoned are manifestly forerunners of still more intimate political relations. The leaders of the Bar come frequently to London to argue their cases before the Judicial Committee

of the Privy Council, the final Court of Appeal for the Empire.

Distinction won at Oxford, Cambridge, London, or Edinburgh is a recommendation for professorships in Colonial universities, while of late years not a few British professorships have been filled from the Colonies. English clergy are appointed to Colonial bishoprics, and Colonial bishops are translated back to English sees. Good work done in any part of the Empire finds ready recognition in all its parts, and a continuous circulation of ability is thus maintained. Oxford training and associations are therefore distinctly on the natural line of the ambitions of students drawn from the great Dominions and smaller Colonies of the Empire. It even offers a definite career in the case of the Civil Service of India, which is open on equal terms to Colonial candidates, and has already attracted a small proportion of Colonial Rhodes Scholars.

Speaking generally, I think it may be said that as a result of this the scheme has so far drawn from most of the Colonies of the Empire the best that the educational system of each Province or State can produce. On the other hand, it is constantly asserted in the United States that there the system has not as yet succeeded in attracting the strongest

candidates. It is difficult to judge of the truth of this view, but it should be stated as a widely held American opinion, and one not uncommonly expressed by the American Rhodes Scholars themselves. If this opinion does represent a fact, some of the reasons for it are natural and obvious. A vigorous and ambitious student preparing for an American life, and in the full tide of a successful career at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, or Chicago, might well hesitate about interrupting it for three years, unless the opportunites of Oxford had some very direct bearing upon his future work.

Doubt about the advantage of the years at Oxford, again, is expressed more frequently in the United States than elsewhere. The reasons assigned are various, in some cases depending on the career to which men look forward. Young Americans, for instance, who have taken a degree at Harvard, Yale, Chicago, or some other home university, and whose aim is a collegiate or university career as teacher or professor, have for many years gone in numbers to Germany and after two or three years of study there have carried back a Doctor's degree which they find a strong recommendation for professorships or lectureships in their own country. A First or Second Class taken at Oxford in Literæ Humaniores, His-

tory, or Literature; a B.C.L. Degree, a B.Litt. or B.Sc. Research Degree does not yet appear to count for as much in this regard as the German degree, though they certainly represent a severe training, and though their attainment has strained to the utmost the powers of the Scholar. Whether they will gradually come to be more highly valued cannot yet be foreseen.

A more insistent reason is found in the prevailing haste of the young American, and perhaps the most vigorous among them, to grapple with the business of life at the earliest possible age; to get training from the practical struggle itself, rather than from prolonged preparation for it. In a country where such vast accumulations of wealth have been made during the last century, and where, therefore, the need for immediate earning cannot be felt throughout large classes, it might be expected that this feeling of haste would decline. But it does not appear to have done so. Even the sons of the wealthy seem to yield to its influence.

As American students are partly through their own universities when they become eligible for Rhodes Scholarships, and as still more find that they are not well prepared for an Oxford course till still later, the prospect of three additional years of

training at Oxford puts a heavy strain on men imbued with this feeling of haste.

Still another opposing influence which I have met in the United States is an apprehension that the atmosphere of Oxford, supposed to be one of refined culture, may unfit a man for practical American life. No doubt there is this danger, but it is a danger common to university training everywhere. It confronts the English student looking forward to English business life, as well as the American who goes to Harvard or Yale. To some men the culture of the University adds to practical ability new power and a greater ease in its exertion; in others it seems to sap the capacity for affairs.

When pursuing my enquiries in the United States, I had the opportunity of discussing this aspect of the question at the White House with President Roosevelt, himself a typical man of affairs who has enjoyed all the advantages of university culture. His common-sense view of the matter seems worth reproducing. "Will the training of your young Americans at Oxford?" I asked, "and their close touch for a prolonged period with English life, and indirectly with European life, help or hinder them when they come back later to work out their careers in their own country?"

His reply was that it will depend entirely on the men themselves — on whether they make a wise use of their opportunities or not. There could be no doubt that Oxford is a place where power can be gained for the higher purposes of life. The long array of statesmen and thinkers of the first rank that it has turned out in the present and the past generations alone proves that conclusively. If the American Scholars have the good sense to assimilate there the things which make for increased personal power, Oxford training will serve them as well in America as it serves the ambitious young Englishman at home. If they choose the frills and frivolities of university life, these will do them more harm when coming back to America than parallel things picked up at an American university.

In spite of the opposing influences referred to, it would seem that the opportunity offered by the Scholarships may well make a strong appeal to the patriotic and ambitious American student. He is the citizen of a comparatively new nation which is working out under peculiar circumstances the difficult problems of a vast civilization, and which is also constantly being drawn into more intimate relations with the other nations of the world. Heir to all the past of civilization, such a nation can only achieve

its highest by gleaning the best experience of other nations, past or present. The American student who goes to Germany to learn the lessons of profound special research — to Italy for the study of art in an atmosphere unknown to our cruder Saxon communities — to France for the things which make for the graces of life and mental culture — to England for variety of political experience gained in a thousand years of development and in administration applied to the most varied conditions in every quarter of the globe — and then comes back to pour into the stream of life in his own country the results of all that he has learned, must surely be in a way to serve the higher need of his time and nation. For one group of such students the Rhodes Scholarships furnish an open door, as useful, in a different way, as that offered to the student from the Colonies of the Empire. The Anglo-Saxon tradition is, after all, the greatest that the American Republic has behind it — the one that has dominated its development in the past, and maintains its significance to-day in spite of the vast assimilation of various races which is going on. Its preservation is, perhaps, the best hope of America's future. Rhodes wished to give his American scholars easy access to the fountain-head of that tradition, in the firm belief that this would make for mutual sym-

pathy and understanding between the two greatest branches of the race, and be for the good of both.

Nor can the significance of the Scholarships be less to a German student who comes to enjoy them. The German Scholar meets at Oxford not only the students of the British Isles, but those of the United States, Canada, Australasia, and South Africa. For a nation that is constantly extending its commercial and diplomatic relations, and as a great world-power looks out upon widening political vistas, intimate knowledge of all these countries of the future and their people must be of great value.

To all the Scholars, Colonial, American, and German, Oxford furnishes for study an epitome of English life. There, amid surroundings full of historic association and buildings hoary with age, they see and form a part of a ceaseless tide of young life fed from every corner of English ground — constantly shifting yet ever the same — flowing along in channels almost as old as English history — amid the traditions of great men and great movements, yet always forming its own traditions and lending itself to new movements; sometimes affecting indifference — sometimes intensely in earnest: but always, in its tastes and manners, its amuse-

ments and its aspirations, reflecting the English life of its time.

From all this some Scholars will draw more and some less. It has been said that a person gets from a picture or other work of art what he brings to it himself of power to see, absorb, and understand. The same is true of life at a great university. One is inclined to say that it is especially true of Oxford, with its singular combination of ancient tradition and modern spirit. The larger mind will draw from it the larger benefit. One is sometimes asked abroad if Oxford is interested in the Rhodes Scholars. Like other universities, Oxford is always interested in interesting men, and communities which send these need never be anxious about the regard in which their representatives will be held.

CHAPTER IX

THE SCHOLAR

A MAN elected as a Rhodes Scholar soon discovers that he has assumed a peculiar responsibility, and one from which he will find it difficult to escape during the rest of his life. He becomes the representative, worthy or unworthy, of the beneficent idea of a great man. He has been formally selected from the Country, State, Province or Colony to which he belongs as best fitted in mental, moral, and physical equipment to represent at Oxford the community from which he comes. As such a selected man a good deal is naturally expected of him in the educational centre to which he goes. Speaking generally it may be said that a Scholar who does not make some distinct impression on his Oxford College or in the University through some combination of the qualities for which he was selected, intellectual ability, weight of character, and physical fitness, can scarcely be regarded as realizing the ideal of a Rhodes Scholar, or as justifying the judgment that selected him. Again, in the community from

which he comes, he is looked upon as a man selected for the enjoyment of peculiar advantages of study and travel, such as are usually only secured by the possession of considerable private means. For three years, by the exercise of a moderate economy, he is free to pursue, unharassed by the financial anxiety which hinders so many eager students, a course of training, study, and observation, which can scarcely fail, if properly used, to prepare him for higher work in any scheme of life on which his mind is bent. He has been in close touch with a centre and system of training which has for centuries produced, and to the present day has continued to produce, many of the ablest statesmen, lawyers, publicists, theologians, historians, critics, writers in prose and verse, men of thought and men of action, of which the Anglo-Saxon race can boast. He has been able, should he so desire, to widen his observation of life and manners by holiday visits to countries like France, Germany, and Italy, which in art, science, literature, and government represent so many of the highest achievements of mankind. He has been brought into more or less intimate association with men selected like himself from every community where the English language is spoken outside of the British Islands, with others from Germany, and with a

large section of the *élite* of the youth of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Of a man so selected and enjoying such opportunities a good deal will reasonably be expected when he returns to play his part in the life of his own land. To its very end people will judge from his career whether leisure and special opportunities for study and wide observation do or do not contribute to enlarge natural capacity and increase efficiency for the higher work of life.

When Scholars are elected they are required to submit to the Trust and to the College authorities of Oxford an outline of their school, College, and University career. These are duly entered on the records of the Trust. Only the additions made to those records from his course at Oxford and his achievements in later years will fully answer the question of whether the Scholar has fulfilled the hopes entertained by those who selected him. The opportunities offered by the Scholarship are therefore balanced by very considerable and practically unavoidable responsibilities present and future.

While Oxford has from the first been interested in the scheme, and appreciative of the contribution made by the Rhodes Scholar to university life, there is no doubt that he for his part has learned there

his own limitations. While he probably has gained a wider general outlook on life than the ordinary undergraduate, he finds as a rule that intellectually he has been less thoroughly grounded than the best of the men with whom he comes in competition. The Scholars admit freely that a well-trained sixth-form boy fresh from Eton, Rugby, Winchester, or St. Paul's is usually a more accurate scholar in the subjects he has studied than the American, Canadian, or Australian, who has been selected for a Rhodes Scholarship at the end or near the end of his university course at home. So far neither from the United States, the Colonies, nor Germany has a Rhodes Scholar appeared, who even after his preliminary years at a home university has found the path to Oxford distinctions, which are equally open to all, an easy one. This perhaps might be expected in Classics and Philosophy, the special fields of Oxford scholarship, and that in which her greatest sons have been trained. But it has proved equally true in Mathematics, in History, in English Literature, in Jurisprudence, in Theology, in Medicine, in Economics, to all of which many of the men have been attracted. The Honour Schools in every department have put a severe strain on all the Scholars who have hitherto come. While the proportion of

absolute failures has been small, the number of marked successes has not been large.

The most ordinary complaint among the men is that the three years of their course is a period all too short for the work that Oxford would like them to do. Where the field from which Scholars are selected is so wide and the prize unusually large, this result may seem disappointing; and suggests considerations of the underlying reasons. Is it due to deficiency of preparatory training, to the conditions laid down in the Bequest, to the methods of selection, to the type of candidate to whom the Scholarships appeal, to the conditions of work at Oxford? So far as the United States are concerned one distinguished American authority has in an official report publicly assigned the first of these reasons as the explanation of the fact that only a small proportion of American Scholars attain to the highest Oxford standard, and he uses it as an argument for changed methods in secondary and collegiate education in his own country. In several of the smaller Colonies, the newer Provinces of the Dominions, and the less advanced States of the Union, it is still difficult to get a training that prepares effectively for a successful course at Oxford. But these conditions are certain in almost every case to

improve rapidly. Some heads of American colleges have told me that under their highly specialized system of sports athletic qualifications are seldom associated with intellectual superiority, and that the demand made in the scheme for these qualifications will tend to depress, rather than elevate, the average of intellectual standard among the American Scholars. On these points it is difficult for an outsider to judge. Others claim that Oxford's demand for a certain amount of elementary Greek at entrance limits the field of competition seriously, and in the widespread indifference to the study of Greek throughout America, cuts out a large proportion of candidates likely to achieve distinction on other lines.

In athletics, also, as well as in things intellectual, the Scholars find that distinction is not easy to achieve in the competition they have to meet. Their presence at Oxford has strengthened the University athletics, but by no means revolutionized them, as was by some expected. The Colonial Scholars have up to the present time competed in about one hundred inter-University athletic events; the American Scholars in about forty; the German Scholars in none.

In one particular the English youth at Oxford has

some advantage over the American or Colonial as a student. He is accustomed to his environment — is more or less familiar with the great cities, cathedrals, and scenery of his country — has probably already visited France or Germany, Switzerland or Italy. The other comes to a new land where there is much to divert his attention — a thousand places about which his curiosity has been aroused by the reading of history and fiction; he wishes to see as much of Europe as he can, and so is tempted to throw into sight-seeing much time and energy that the Englishman spends on his University work. Unless indulged in with strict moderation the distractions of travel do not make for success in the Schools. The fact is one that every Scholar is bound to consider carefully.

But class lists and academic prizes will never furnish a complete measure of the success of the Scheme that Rhodes conceived. The Oxford honours which his Scholars achieve will doubtless attract more immediate attention; will indicate that power is being pressed into the service of his ideas; will increase the prestige of the scheme; will gain wider recognition for those who have been trained under it. On all grounds such distinctions are to be counted as gain. But the essential thing is that new power shall be

gained for the work of life, and that in the country from which the Scholar comes.

It is true that the American or Colonial Scholar loses some touch with his native land by three years' absence from it. But this has at all times been true of men who wish to bring back to their own countries the added power given by experience gained in other lands. In addition to this there is good ground for thinking that the Scholarship System in Oxford will, so far as it goes, exercise a unifying influence on the thought of each of the countries from which men are drawn, and will lead to associations very likely to be useful in after life. The American Scholar meets at the English University selected men from every State of the Union, North, South, East, and West, and this under conditions particularly favourable for intimate intercourse and for exchange of ideas. It is a common remark among the men that they are able to form more widely representative connections and friendships with every part of the Republic than they would be able to do in any university at home, with perhaps one or two exceptions. They have an advantage, too, in doing this on neutral ground, where local prejudices lose their influence.

So, too, Australians meet on common ground

fellow students from every State of the Commonwealth; Canadians men from every Province of the Dominion; South Africans those from most parts of their country; Germans countrymen from every State of the Empire. Thus the System will tend to make for a wide common understanding in all the units to which the System extends, as well as between the different countries.

CONCLUSION

To the memory of Rhodes many striking monuments have been erected by devoted friends in marble, bronze, or stone; at Capetown — on Table Mountain — in Kimberley — Bulawayo — Salisbury — in the village of his birth — at Oxford. Sculptors have vied with painters in transmitting to posterity the outlines of his masterful figure and features cast in Roman mould — in catching some hint of the idealism combined with energy and iron will which lay behind figure and face. Nor has he lacked the "sacred bard" whom even the greatest need for fame that is to endure.

The Province, larger than European empires, which he secured for his country and which bears his name; the railway and telegraph systems with which he changed the face of central South Africa; the estates and mansions which he bestowed on the public; the experimental and irrigation farms which he established and bequeathed for the general good; the splendid avenues with which he adorned cities; the great industry which his business genius consoli-

dated and saved; the University College at Grahamstown named in his honour, and in part endowed by his wealth; the Oxford College enlarged and strengthened by his loyal generosity; — all these also remain in concrete form to preserve his memory from oblivion.

The plans which he formed for the unification of South Africa; the laws which he placed upon the Statute Book, and especially those dealing with that most difficult of South African questions, the treatment of the coloured races; the great principle of "equal rights for all civilized men," which inspired his legislation, will remind later generations of his liberal spirit and far-sighted sagacity. The great teaching university for South Africa which he planned, for which he strenuously worked, and which friends, inspired by his enthusiasm, have so liberally endowed, will doubtless soon rise on the noble site which he selected for it, to realize the educational aspirations he had formed for the country of his adoption.

But in addition to and perhaps above all these in its claim on the grateful memory of posterity, and for the perpetuation of his fame, is the Scholarship Scheme which is here explained — begot of a wider idealism — representing his thought at its highest

level. Year by year aspiring youth, keen to equip itself for the higher work of life, eager to add the knowledge of the Old World to that of the New Continents, will be drawn from all the lands to which the Anglo-Saxon race has spread, to learn what England has to teach. They will interchange thought and experience with each other, with the youth of the mother-land, and with the German students drawn to the same centre by the same influence. That this intercourse will tend to produce among the nations concerned the kindlier feeling, the better understanding, and the mutual respect, leading up to the common effort for the world's peace and welfare of which Rhodes dreamed, there is every reason to hope. And so the justification of his dreams must be left in the hands of his Scholars.

When unveiling at Oxford a tablet erected by the University to the memory of Rhodes, Lord Rosebery, the senior member of the Trust to whose care he committed his wealth, used words which furnish the note on which this volume should close:

> He has dug deep, he has dug broad, the foundations of his own reputation. In South Africa . . . the name of Rhodes will always be preserved, and in the British Empire for which he worked with such sublimity of conception, such broad capacity, and such unresting energy, he must long remain a figure and a force. But is it not

after all in this University of Oxford that his fame is most secure? You are going to honour him to-day by setting up a tablet, superfluous at the present moment, but not superfluous in ages to come, which may recall to the most ordinary passer-by the benefit he sought to confer on this University. In your bidding prayers, in your ancient services, I suppose the name of Cecil John Rhodes will always be remembered. But will it not be chiefly renowned as having summoned from all parts of the world — from two great Empires, from the mightiest Republic that has ever existed — an affluence of new Scholars ready to worship at the shrine of this ancient University, to imbibe its august traditions, and to take back to their homes and to their communities a message of peace, civilization and good will. I do not know what other methods may be taken to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Rhodes in this country or in South Africa, but sure I am of this, that in this ancient University his truest and noblest monument will be the career, the merits, and the reputation of the Scholars whom he has summoned within these walls.

THE END

APPENDIX A

THE following is a list of the twenty Colleges to which a Rhodes Scholar may apply for admission, and by one of which he must be accepted in order to become a member of the University. The date of foundation, and the number of undergraduates as shown by the latest official list are given for each College.

NAME OF COLLEGE	DATE OF FOUNDATION	UNDERGRADUATES
University College	872	199
Balliol College	1263	256
Merton College	1264	124
Exeter College	1314	197
Oriel College	1326	117
Queen's College	1340	163
New College	1379	306
Lincoln College	1427	108
Magdalen College	1458	189
Brasenose College	1509	130
Corpus Christi College	1516	82
Christ Church	1546	323
Trinity College	1554	183
St. John's College	1555	233
Jesus College	1571	152
Wadham College	1612	126
Pembroke College	1624	113
Worcester College	1714	127
Hertford College	1874	135
Keble College	1870	233

All Souls College (founded in 1437) is not included in

the list, as its constitution does not provide for the election of undergraduates of the type of the Rhodes Scholars. Its valuable fellowships (of about two hundred pounds per annum), tenable for seven years, are freely open to the competition of men who have been Rhodes Scholars, and one of these has been won by a Scholar from the Province of Quebec.

In addition to the Colleges here enumerated there are certain Halls, membership in which gives University rights. There is also a considerable body of non-collegiate students. The opportunities thus given do not concern the present statement, as the Rhodes Scholars are expected to enter one of the Colleges.

APPENDIX B

ON STUDENTS FROM FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES

OXFORD UNIVERSITY STATUTES

Extract from Statt. Tit. II, Sect. IX

1. The Students of any Foreign University may be admitted by vote of Convocation to the privileges of this Section of the Statutes; and these privileges may be withdrawn at any time by vote of Convocation.

Admission to such privileges shall not be extended to the Students from any University, College, or other Institution affiliated or attached to the Foreign University, except with the express sanction of Convocation.

2. Any Student of the Foreign University, who shall have pursued at that University a course of study prescribed by it and extending over two years at the least, and who shall have reached a sufficient standard in all the examinations incident to the course, may be admitted to the status and privileges of a Foreign Junior Student.

3. Any Student of the Foreign University, who shall have pursued at that University a course of study prescribed by it and extending over three full years, and who shall have taken Honours in the final examination incident to the course, may be admitted to the status and privileges of a Foreign Senior Student.

4. It shall be the duty of the Hebdomadal Council to draw up and submit to Convocation a statement of the

conditions under which a Student of such a Foreign University shall be deemed to have reached a sufficient standard or to have taken Honours as aforesaid. Every such statement, if approved by Convocation, shall have the force of regulations made by Statute.

5. The status and privileges of a Junior Student shall be as follows: —

(*a*) The Term in which he is matriculated shall be reckoned, for the purposes of any provisions respecting the standing of members of the University, as the fifth Term from his matriculation.

(*b*) A Junior Student shall not be required to pass Responsions, or to pass in an Additional Subject at Responsions.

(*c*) A Junior Student who has passed the Second Public Examination, and has obtained Honours either in the First or in the Second Public Examination, shall be entitled to supplicate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts so soon as he shall have kept statutable residence for eight Terms. Provided that he has shown a sufficient knowledge of the Greek language.

(*d*) A Junior Student who has passed the Second Public Examination, but has not obtained Honours either in the First or in the Second Public Examination, shall be entitled to supplicate for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts so soon as he shall have kept statutable residence for twelve Terms. Provided that he has shown a sufficient knowledge of the Greek language.

6. The status and privileges of a Senior Student shall be as follows: —

(*a*) The Term in which he is matriculated shall be

reckoned, for the purposes of any provisions respecting the standing of members of the University, as the fifth Term from his matriculation.

(*b*) A Senior Student shall not be required to pass any part of Responsions or of the First Public Examination or any Preliminary Examination of the Second Public Examination.

(*c*) A Senior Student shall be entitled to supplicate for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts if he shall have shown a sufficient knowledge of the Greek language, and if either (i) he shall have kept statutable residence for eight Terms and shall have obtained a place or his name shall have been placed as *ægrotat* in the Class List of an Honour School of the Second Public Examination; or (ii) he shall have kept statutable residence for twelve Terms, and shall have satisfied the provisions of Statt. Tit. VI, Sect. I, D. § 3. cl. 18[1].

No Senior Student shall be entitled to supplicate for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, unless he shall have satisfied the provisions of this sub-clause.

7. Every person who, having been matriculated, desires to claim the status of a Junior or Senior Student, shall make his application through an officer of a College or Hall or of the Non-Collegiate Body, to the Assistant Registrar, and shall at the same time produce the necessary certificates in support thereof, and pay to the University Chest, through the Assistant Registrar, the sum of one pound or of two pounds, according as he is admitted as a Junior or a Senior Student. If he makes his application later than four weeks from matriculation, he shall pay an additional fee of one pound.

8. Any person qualified to become a Junior Student on matriculation may be admitted to any part of Responsions, any part of the First Public Examination, and any Preliminary Examination in the Second Public Examination.

9. Every person who, being qualified to become a Junior or Senior Student on matriculation, desires to have his name entered for an examination before he has been matriculated shall make his application to the Assistant Registrar through an officer of a College or Hall or of the Non-Collegiate Body, who shall send the name to the Assistant Registrar seven clear days before the day fixed for entering names for the Examination in question, together with

(*a*) The statutable fee and in addition thereto the sum of one pound or of two pounds, according as the Candidate claims to be qualified to become a Junior or a Senior Student;

(*b*) A declaration that in his opinion the Candidate *bona fide* desires admission to his College or Hall or as a Non-Collegiate Student as the case may be, and

(*c*) Evidence showing that the Candidate is qualified as aforesaid.

Any candidate whose name has been entered for an examination as aforesaid shall, so soon as he has been matriculated, become a Junior or a Senior Student, as the case may be.

10. A Foreign Student shall be deemed to have shown a sufficient knowledge of the Greek language if he has passed *either* (*a*) one of the examinations enumerated below in Schedule A;

or (*b*) such examination or examinations of his University as shall satisfy the conditions laid down under the provisions of the next following clause. Provided that evidence of his having satisfied these conditions shall have been produced to the Assistant Registrar, and that a registration fee of one pound shall have been paid through the Assistant Registrar to the University Chest. If the evidence shall not have been produced before the end of the Term of his matriculation, the Foreign Student shall pay an additional fee of one pound.

11. It shall be the duty of the Hebdomadal Council to draw up a statement of the conditions under which a Student of a Foreign University who has been admitted to the privileges of this Statute shall be deemed to have shown a sufficient knowledge of the Greek language in the examinations of his University. Every such statement shall be submitted to Convocation, and, if approved, shall have the force of regulations made by Statute.

12. The Assistant Registrar shall have power to make and vary from time to time regulations for the admission of qualified persons to the status of a Junior or Senior Student, and for enabling Junior or Senior Students, or persons qualified to become Junior or Senior Students, to offer themselves for examination under the provisions of this section, provided that all such regulations and any variation in them shall be submitted to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors for approval.

13. It shall be the duty of the Assistant Registrar to keep a sufficient record of the members of the University who have the status and privileges of a Junior or a Senior Student respectively, and of the persons not yet matri-

culated whose names have been entered for an examination under the provisions of this section, and to see that no Candidate is admitted to examination or to any of the privileges of a Junior or Senior Student who has not satisfied the conditions of this section.

Schedule A

1. The Examination in Stated Subjects in Responsions, or any examination which under Statt. Tit. VI, Sect. 1, cl. 2[1] exempts a Candidate from Responsions.

2. The Examination in Additional Subjects in Responsions, the subject offered being a Greek book, or any examination including Greek which is accepted by the University as equivalent to this Examination.

3. The Examination of Candidates who offer the Greek language only at Responsions.

4. The Examination of Candidates not seeking Honours in the First Public Examination.

5. The Examination of Candidates for Honours in Greek and Latin Literature in the First Public Examination.

6. The Preliminary Examination in the Honour School of Jurisprudence, provided that the Candidate satisfies the Examiners in a Greek book in that Examination.

7. Group A. 1 of the Examination of Candidates who do not seek Honours in the Second Public Examination.

8. Group D of the same Examination.

9. The Honour School of Literæ Humaniores.

10. The Honour School of Theology.

APPENDIX C

THE Responsions Examination, or its equivalent, as carried out by Oxford University for the Rhodes Trust, embraces the following subjects: —

1. Arithmetic — the whole.
2. *Either* (*a*) The elements of algebra.
   (*b*) The elements of geometry.
3. Greek Grammar.
4. Latin Grammar.
5. Translation from English into Latin Prose.
6. *Either* (*a*) Unprepared translation from Greek and Latin;
   or (*b*) Unprepared translation from one of these languages, and a book from the other;
   or (*c*) one Greek and one Latin Book.

The authors assigned for examinations vary slightly from year to year. The requirements for 1912 may be taken as typical, viz.: —

Any of the following portions of the undermentioned authors will be accepted as a "book": —

Euripides (any two of the following Plays): Hecuba, Medea, Alcestis, Bacchæ.

Homer: (1) Iliad, 1–4 or 2–5; *or* (2) Odyssey, 1–5 or 2–6.

Plato: Euthyphro and Crito.

Xenophon: Anabasis, 1–3 or 2–4.

Cæsar: De Bello Gallico, 1–4.

Cicero: (1) In Catilinam, 1–4, and In Verrem Actio I.; *or* (2) pro Murena and pro Lege Manilia; *or* (3) de Senectute and de Amicitia.

Horace: Odes 1–4.

Virgil: (1) the Bucolics, with Books 1–2 of the Æneid; *or* (2) the Georgics; *or* (3) the Æneid, Books 1–4 or 2–5 or 3–6.

The Texts used in setting the Examination Papers are those of the series of Oxford Classical Texts, so far as these have been published by the Oxford University Press.

Sets of the Responsions Examination papers for past years can be ordered from the University Press, Oxford, or from the Oxford University Press, 29–35 West 32d St., New York.

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